

PEKING REVIEW

22

May 26, 1967

TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

May 1942

MAO TSE-TUNG

Greeting the World's Advance Into the Great New Epoch of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Grand rally in Peking commemorates 25th anniversary of
Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum
On Literature and Art

北
京
周
報

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art (May 1942)

* * *

All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

Ibid.

* * *

[Our purpose is] to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.

Ibid.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

May 1942

MAO TSE-TUNG

INTRODUCTION

May 2, 1942

Comrades! You have been invited to this forum today to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.

In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. Since the May 4th Movement such a cultural army has taken shape in China, and it has helped the Chinese revolution, gradually reduced the domain of China's feudal culture and of the comprador culture which serves imperialist aggression, and weakened their influence. To oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only "pit quantity against quality". In other words, reactionaries have money, and though they can produce nothing good, they can go all out and produce in quantity. Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other. It is very good that since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more and more revolutionary writers and artists

have been coming to Yen-an and our other anti-Japanese base areas. But it does not necessarily follow that, having come to the base areas, they have already integrated themselves completely with the masses of the people here. The two must be completely integrated if we are to push ahead with our revolutionary work. The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. What are the problems that must be solved to achieve this objective? I think they are the problems of the class stand of the writers and artists, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. Are there any of our literary and art workers who are still mistaken or not clear in their understanding of this problem? I think there are. Many of our comrades have frequently departed from the correct stand.

The problem of attitude. From one's stand there follow specific attitudes towards specific matters. For instance, is one to extol or to expose? This is a question of attitude. Which attitude is wanted? I would say both. The question is, whom are you dealing with? There are three kinds of persons, the enemy, our allies in the united front and our own people; the last are the masses and their vanguard. We need to adopt a different attitude towards each of the three. With regard to the enemy, that is, Japanese imperialism and all the other enemies of the people, the task of revolutionary writers and artists is to expose their duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of their defeat, so as to encourage the anti-

Japanese army and people to fight staunchly with one heart and one mind for their overthrow. With regard to our different allies in the united front, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism, and there should be different kinds of alliance and different kinds of criticism. We support them in their resistance to Japan and praise them for any achievement. But if they are not active in the War of Resistance, we should criticize them. If anyone opposes the Communist Party and the people and keeps moving down the path of reaction, we will firmly oppose him. As for the masses of the people, their toil and their struggle, their army and their Party, we should certainly praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. Among the proletariat many retain petty-bourgeois ideas, while both the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie have backward ideas; these are burdens hampering them in their struggle. We should be patient and spend a long time in educating them and helping them to get these loads off their backs and combat their own shortcomings and errors, so that they can advance with great strides. They have remoulded themselves in struggle or are doing so, and our literature and art should depict this process. As long as they do not persist in their errors, we should not dwell on their negative side and consequently make the mistake of ridiculing them or, worse still, of being hostile to them. Our writings should help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary, and should certainly not do the opposite.

The problem of audience, *i.e.*, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas of northern and central China, this problem differs from that in the Kuomintang areas, and differs still more from that in Shanghai before the War of Resistance. In the Shanghai period, the audience for works of revolutionary literature and art consisted mainly of a section of the students, office workers and shop assistants. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance the audience in the Kuomintang areas became somewhat wider, but it still consisted mainly of the same kind of people because the government there prevented the workers, peasants and soldiers from having access to revolutionary literature and art. In our base areas the situation is entirely different. Here the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. There are students in the base areas, too, but they are different from students of the old type; they are either former or future cadres. The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers

in the factories and peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuomintang areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yen-an alone there are more than 10,000 who read books. Many of them, moreover, are tempered revolutionaries of long standing, who have come from all parts of the country and will go out to work in different places, so it is very important to do educational work among them. Our literary and art workers must do a good job in this respect.

Since the audience for our literature and art consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, the problem arises of understanding them and knowing them well. A great deal of work has to be done in order to understand them and know them well, to understand and know well all the different kinds of people and phenomena in the Party and government organizations, in the villages and factories and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Our writers and artists have their literary and art work to do, but their primary task is to understand people and know them well. In this regard, how have matters stood with our writers and artists? I would say they have been lacking in knowledge and understanding; they have been like "a hero with no place to display his prowess". What does lacking in knowledge mean? Not knowing people well. The writers and artists do not have a good knowledge either of those whom they describe or of their audience; indeed they may hardly know them at all. They do not know the workers or peasants or soldiers well, and do not know the cadres well either. What does lacking in understanding mean? Not understanding the language, that is, not being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses. Since many writers and artists stand aloof from the masses and lead empty lives, naturally they are unfamiliar with the language of the people. Accordingly, their works are not only insipid in language but often contain nondescript expressions of their own coining which run counter to popular usage. Many comrades like to talk about "a mass style". But what does it really mean? It means that the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses. How can you talk of literary and artistic

creation if you find the very language of the masses largely incomprehensible? By "a hero with no place to display his prowess", we mean that your collection of great truths is not appreciated by the masses. The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the "hero", the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it. If you want the masses to understand you, if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering. Here I might mention the experience of how my own feelings changed. I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cowdung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.

The last problem is study, by which I mean the study of Marxism-Leninism and of society. Anyone who considers himself a revolutionary Marxist writer, and especially any writer who is a member of the Communist Party, must have a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our

comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love". Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism. It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

I am merely raising these problems today by way of introduction; I hope all of you will express your views on these and other relevant problems.

CONCLUSION

May 23, 1942

Comrades! Our forum has had three meetings this month. In the pursuit of truth we have carried on spirited debates in which scores of Party and non-Party comrades have spoken, laying bare the issues and making them more concrete. This, I believe, will very much benefit the whole literary and artistic movement.

In discussing a problem, we should start from reality and not from definitions. We would be following a wrong method if we first looked up definitions of literature and art in textbooks and then used them to determine the guiding principles for the present-day literary and artistic movement and to judge the different opinions and controversies that arise today. We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts. We should do the same in our present discussion of literary and artistic work.

What are the facts at present? The facts are: the War of Resistance Against Japan which China has been fighting for five years; the world-wide anti-fascist war; the vacillations of China's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in the War of

Resistance and their policy of high-handed oppression of the people; the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May 4th Movement — its great contributions to the revolution during the last twenty-three years and its many shortcomings; the anti-Japanese democratic base areas of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the integration of large numbers of writers and artists with these armies and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the difference in both environment and tasks between the writers and artists in the base areas and those in the Kuomintang areas; and the controversial issues concerning literature and art which have arisen in Yen-an and the other anti-Japanese base areas. These are the actual, undeniable facts in the light of which we have to consider our problems.

What then is the crux of the matter? In my opinion, it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems are solved, or solved properly, our writers and artists will be ill-adapted to their environment and their tasks and will come up against a series of difficulties from without and within. My concluding remarks will centre on these two problems and also touch upon some related ones.

I

The first problem is: literature and art for whom?

This problem was solved long ago by Marxists, especially by Lenin. As far back as 1905 Lenin pointed out emphatically that our literature and art should "serve . . . the millions and tens of millions of working people". For comrades engaged in literary and artistic work in the anti-Japanese base areas it might seem that this problem is already solved and needs no further discussion. Actually, that is not the case. Many comrades have not found a clear solution. Consequently their sentiments, their works, their actions and their views on the guiding principles for literature and art have inevitably been more or less at variance with the needs of the masses and of the practical struggle. Of course, among the numerous men of culture, writers, artists and other literary and artistic workers engaged in the great struggle for liberation together with the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be careerists who are with us only temporarily, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By relying on these comrades, we have achieved a great deal in our literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these writers and artists have begun their work since the

outbreak of the War of Resistance; many others did much revolutionary work before the war, endured many hardships and influenced broad masses of the people by their activities and works. Why do we say, then, that even among these comrades there are some who have not reached a clear solution of the problem of whom literature and art are for? Is it conceivable that there are still some who maintain that revolutionary literature and art are not for the masses of the people but for the exploiters and oppressors?

Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. To this day such literature and art still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu, whom Lu Hsun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then literature and art exist which serve the imperialists — for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping and their like — which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the above groups. We have said that China's new culture at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses. Naturally, the same applies to the new literature and art which are part of the new culture. We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest sections of the people, constituting more than 90 per cent of our total population, are the workers, peasants, soldiers and urban petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly, they are for the peasants, the most numerous and most steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly, they are for the armed workers and peasants, namely, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the other armed units of the

people, which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly, they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long-term co-operation with us. These four kinds of people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nation, the broadest masses of the people.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have enumerated. To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. Their interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. This is the crucial reason why some of our comrades cannot correctly solve the problem of "for whom?" In saying this I am not referring to theory. In theory, or in words, no one in our ranks regards the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. I am referring to practice, to action. In practice, in action, do they regard petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do. Many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analysing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings, instead of guiding the intellectuals to join with them in getting closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, taking part in the practical struggles of the masses, portraying and educating the masses. Coming from the petty bourgeoisie and being themselves intellectuals, many comrades seek friends only among intellectuals and concentrate on studying and describing them. Such study and description are proper if done from a proletarian position. But that is not what they do, or not what they do fully. They take the petty-bourgeois stand and produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, as can be seen in quite a number of literary and artistic products. Often they show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. On the other hand, these comrades seldom come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not understand or study them, do not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them; when they do depict them, the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In certain respects they are fond of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres stemming from them; but there are

times when they do not like them and there are some respects in which they do not like them: they do not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc.). At times they are fond of these things too, but that is when they are hunting for novelty, for something with which to embellish their own works, or even for certain backward features. At other times they openly despise these things and are partial to what belongs to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie. These comrades have their feet planted on the side of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; or, to put it more elegantly, their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved, the problem of "for whom?" This applies not only to newcomers to Yen-an; even among comrades who have been to the front and worked for a number of years in our base areas and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, many have not completely solved this problem. It requires a long period of time, at least eight or ten years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and disunity arising among some comrades in the past were not on this fundamental question of principle but on secondary questions, or even on issues involving no principle. On this question of principle, however, there has been hardly any divergence between the two contending sides and they have shown almost complete agreement; to some extent, both tend to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses. I say "to some extent" because, generally speaking, these comrades do not look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or divorce themselves from the masses in the same way as the Kuomintang does. Nevertheless, the tendency is there. Unless this fundamental problem is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve. Take, for instance, the sectarianism in literary and art circles. This too is a question of principle, but sectarianism can only be eradicated by putting

forward and faithfully applying the slogans, "For the workers and peasants!", "For the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies!" and "Go among the masses!" Otherwise the problem of sectarianism can never be solved. Lu Hsun once said:

A common aim is the prerequisite for a united front. . . . The fact that our front is not united shows that we have not been able to unify our aims, and that some people are working only for small groups or indeed only for themselves. If we all aim at serving the masses of workers and peasants, our front will of course be united.

The problem existed then in Shanghai; now it exists in Chungking too. In such places the problem can hardly be solved thoroughly, because the rulers oppress the revolutionary writers and artists and deny them the freedom to go out among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Here with us the situation is entirely different. We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to be active in forming intimate contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers, giving them complete freedom to go among the masses and to create a genuinely revolutionary literature and art. Therefore, here among us the problem is nearing solution. But nearing solution is not the same as a complete and thorough solution. We must study Marxism and study society, as we have been saying, precisely in order to achieve a complete and thorough solution. By Marxism we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words. With Marxism in words transformed into Marxism in real life, there will be no more sectarianism. Not only will the problem of sectarianism be solved, but many other problems as well.

II

Having settled the problem of whom to serve, we come to the next problem, how to serve. To put it in the words of some of our comrades: should we devote ourselves to raising standards, or should we devote ourselves to popularization?

In the past, some comrades, to a certain or even a serious extent, belittled and neglected popularization and laid undue stress on raising standards. Stress should be laid on raising standards, but to do so one-sidedly and exclusively, to do so excessively, is a mistake. The lack of a clear solution to the problem of "for whom?", which I referred to earlier, also manifests itself in this connection. As these comrades are not clear on the problem of "for whom?", they have no correct criteria for the "raising of standards" and the "popularization" they speak of, and are naturally still less able to find the correct relationship between the two. Since

our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, "popularization" means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and "raising standards" means to advance from their present level. What should we popularize among them? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, prior to the task of educating the workers, peasants and soldiers, there is the task of learning from them. This is even more true of raising standards. There must be a basis from which to raise. Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then, are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the "heights" of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. Here again the task of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers comes in. Only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two.

In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream;

they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that. Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art. China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. Otherwise, you will have nothing to work with and you will be nothing but a phoney writer or artist, the kind that Lu Hsun in his will so earnestly cautioned his son never to become.

Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. For example, there is suffering from hunger, cold and oppression on the one hand, and exploitation and oppression of man by man on the other. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them

to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.

What is meant by popularizing and by raising standards in works of literature and art? What is the relationship between these two tasks? Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted by the broad masses of the people today. Works of a higher quality, being more polished, are more difficult to produce and in general do not circulate so easily and quickly among the masses at present. The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of rule by the feudal and bourgeois classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strengthen their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not "more flowers on the brocade" but "fuel in snowy weather". In present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to belittle or neglect popularization.

Nevertheless, no hard and fast line can be drawn between popularization and the raising of standards. Not only is it possible to popularize some works of higher quality even now, but the cultural level of the broad masses is steadily rising. If popularization remains at the same level for ever, with the same stuff being supplied month after month and year after year, always the same "Little Cowherd" and the same "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat", will not the educators and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What would be the sense of such popularization? The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization. In China as a whole the development of the revolution and of revolutionary culture is uneven and their spread is gradual. While in one place there is popularization and then raising of standards on the basis of popularization, in other places popularization has not even begun. Hence good experience in popularization leading to higher standards in one locality can be applied in other localities and serve

to guide popularization and the raising of standards there, saving many twists and turns along the road. Internationally, the good experience of foreign countries, and especially Soviet experience, can also serve to guide us. With us, therefore, the raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Precisely for this reason, so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards which we are now doing on a limited scale, and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale.

Besides such raising of standards as meets the needs of the masses directly, there is the kind which meets their needs indirectly, that is, the kind which is needed by the cadres. The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. Whatever is done for the cadres is also entirely for the masses, because it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses. If we go against this aim, if what we give the cadres cannot help them educate and guide the masses, our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random and will depart from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people.

To sum up: through the creative labour of revolutionary writers and artists, the raw materials found in the life of the people are shaped into the ideological form of literature and art serving the masses of the people. Included here are the more advanced literature and art as developed on the basis of elementary literature and art and as required by those sections of the masses whose level has been raised, or, more immediately, by the cadres among the masses. Also included here are elementary literature and art which, conversely, are guided by more advanced literature and art and are needed primarily by the overwhelming majority of the masses at present. Whether more advanced or elementary, all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.

Now that we have settled the problem of the relationship between the raising of standards and popularization, that of the relationship between the specialists and the popularizers can also be settled. Our specialists are not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written

in the army and the villages. Our specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses. All these comrades should make close contact with comrades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves so that their specialities do not become "ivory towers", detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content or life. We should esteem the specialists, for they are very valuable to our cause. But we should tell them that no revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders", then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

Is this attitude of ours utilitarian? Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but in deeds embrace the most selfish and short-sighted utilitarianism. There is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate. If, for instance, you reproach the masses for their utilitarianism and yet for your own utility, or that of a narrow clique, force on the market and propagandize among the masses a work which pleases only the few but is useless or even harmful to the majority, then you are not only insulting the masses but also revealing your own lack of self-knowledge. A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as "The Spring Snow", but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing the "Song of the Rustic Poor", you will get nowhere by simply

scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor", between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art "pure and lofty" but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse.

Once we have solved the problems of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them, such other problems as whether to write about the bright or the dark side of life and the problem of unity will also be solved. If everyone agrees on the fundamental policy, it should be adhered to by all our workers, all our schools, publications and organizations in the field of literature and art and in all our literary and artistic activities. It is wrong to depart from this policy and anything at variance with it must be duly corrected.

III

Since our literature and art are for the masses of the people, we can proceed to discuss a problem of inner-Party relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the Party's work as a whole, and in addition a problem of the Party's external relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the work of non-Party people in this field, a problem of the united front in literary and art circles.

Let us consider the first problem. In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. Opposition to this arrangement is certain to lead to dualism or pluralism, and in essence amounts to "politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois", as with Trotsky. We do not favour overstressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating their importance. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it, and though in comparison with certain

other and more important parts they may be less significant and less urgent and may occupy a secondary position, nevertheless, they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form. Revolutionary statesmen, the political specialists who know the science or art of revolutionary politics, are simply the leaders of millions upon millions of statesmen — the masses. Their task is to collect the opinions of these mass statesmen, sift and refine them, and return them to the masses, who then take them and put them into practice. They are therefore not the kind of aristocratic "statesmen" who work behind closed doors and fancy they have a monopoly of wisdom. Herein lies the difference in principle between proletarian statesmen and decadent bourgeois statesmen. This is precisely why there can be complete unity between the political character of our literary and artistic works and their truthfulness. It would be wrong to fail to realize this and to debase the politics and the statesmen of the proletariat.

Let us consider next the question of the united front in the world of literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the fundamental problem in China's politics today is resistance to Japan, our Party writers and artists must in the first place unite on this issue of resistance to Japan with all non-Party writers and artists (ranging from Party sympathizers and petty-bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes who are in favour of resistance to Japan). Secondly, we should unite with them on the issue of democracy. On this issue there is a section of anti-Japanese writers and artists who do not agree with us, so the range of unity will unavoidably be somewhat more limited. Thirdly, we should unite with them on issues peculiar to the literary and artistic world, questions of method and style in literature and art; here again, as we are for socialist realism and some people do not agree, the range of unity will be

narrower still. While on one issue there is unity, on another there is struggle, there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such as resistance to Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism. In a united front, "all unity and no struggle" and "all struggle and no unity" are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the "Left" exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics.

The petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force among the forces of the united front in literary and art circles in China. There are many shortcomings in both their thinking and their works, but, comparatively speaking, they are inclined towards the revolution and are close to the working people. Therefore, it is an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front which serves the working people.

IV

Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. It should be developed and, as comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work in this respect has been quite inadequate. Literary and art criticism is a complex question which requires a great deal of special study. Here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism. I shall also comment briefly on a few specific problems raised by some comrades and on certain incorrect views.

In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back. How can we tell the good from the bad — by the motive (the subjective intention) or by the effect (social practice)? Idealists stress motive and ignore effect, while mechanical materialists stress effect and ignore motive. In contradistinction to both, we dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united. The motive of serving the individual or a small clique is not good, nor is it good to have the motive of serving the masses without the effect of

winning their approval and benefiting them. In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist, that is, whether his motive is correct and good, we do not judge by his declarations but by the effect of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society. The criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its effect. We want no sectarianism in our literary and art criticism and, subject to the general principle of unity for resistance to Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes. But at the same time, in our criticism we must adhere firmly to principle and severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party, because these so-called works of literature and art proceed from the motive and produce the effect of undermining unity for resistance to Japan. According to the artistic criterion, all works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of aesthetics, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does.

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit. The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude towards them only after examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically. Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people,

and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

Both these tendencies can be found in the thinking of many comrades. A good number of comrades tend to neglect artistic technique; it is therefore necessary to give attention to the raising of artistic standards. But as I see it, the political side is more of a problem at present. Some comrades lack elementary political knowledge and consequently have all sorts of muddled ideas. Let me cite a few examples from Yenan.

"The theory of human nature." Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence. The human nature boosted by certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, proletarian human nature is contrary to human nature. "The theory of human nature" which some people in Yenan advocate as the basis of their so-called theory of literature and art puts the matter in just this way and is wholly wrong.

"The fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity." Now love may serve as a point of departure, but there is a more basic one. Love as an idea is a product of objective practice. Fundamentally, we do not start from ideas but from objective practice. Our writers and artists who come from the ranks of the intellectuals love the proletariat because society has made them feel that they and the proletariat share a common fate. We hate Japanese imperialism because Japanese imperialism oppresses us. There is abso-

lutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society. There will be genuine love of humanity — after classes are eliminated all over the world. Classes have split society into many antagonistic groupings; there will be love of all humanity when classes are eliminated, but not now. We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them. This is common sense; can it be that some of our writers and artists still do not understand this?

"Literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half." This statement contains many muddled ideas. It is not true that literature and art have always done this. Many petty-bourgeois writers have never discovered the bright side. Their works only expose the dark and are known as the "literature of exposure". Some of their works simply specialize in preaching pessimism and world-weariness. On the other hand, Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction portrays mainly the bright. It, too, describes shortcomings in work and portrays negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and is not on a so-called half-and-half basis. The writers and artists of the bourgeoisie in its period of reaction depict the revolutionary masses as mobs and themselves as saints, thus reversing the bright and the dark. Only truly revolutionary writers and artists can correctly solve the problem of whether to extol or to expose. All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

"The task of literature and art has always been to expose." This assertion, like the previous one, arises from ignorance of the science of history. Literature and art, as we have shown, have never been devoted solely to exposure. For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses too have shortcomings, which should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people's own ranks, and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of "exposure of the people". As for the people, the question is basi-

cally one of education and of raising their level. Only counter-revolutionary writers and artists describe the people as "born fools" and the revolutionary masses as "tyrannical mobs".

"This is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed." Living under the rule of the dark forces and deprived of freedom of speech, Lu Hsun used burning satire and freezing irony, cast in the form of essays, to do battle; and he was entirely right. We, too, must hold up to sharp ridicule the fascists, the Chinese reactionaries and everything that harms the people; but in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines, where democracy and freedom are granted in full to the revolutionary writers and artists and withheld only from the counter-revolutionaries, the style of the essay should not simply be like Lu Hsun's. Here we can shout at the top of our voices and have no need for veiled and roundabout expressions, which are hard for the people to understand. When dealing with the people and not with their enemies, Lu Hsun never ridiculed or attacked the revolutionary people and the revolutionary Party in his "satirical essay period", and these essays were entirely different in manner from those directed against the enemy. To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, as we have already said, but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy. Are we then to abolish satire? No. Satire is always necessary. But there are several kinds of satire, each with a different attitude, satire to deal with our enemies, satire to deal with our allies and satire to deal with our own ranks. We are not opposed to satire in general; what we must abolish is the abuse of satire.

"I am not given to praise and eulogy. The works of people who eulogize what is bright are not necessarily great and the works of those who depict the dark are not necessarily paltry." If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other. The works of the eulogists of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily great, nor are the works of those who show that the bourgeoisie is dark necessarily paltry; the works of the eulogists of the proletariat are not necessarily not great, but the works of those who depict the so-called "darkness" of the proletariat are bound to be paltry—are these not facts of history as regards literature and art? Why should we not eulogize the

people, the creators of the history of mankind? Why should we not eulogize the proletariat, the Communist Party, New Democracy and socialism? There is a type of person who has no enthusiasm for the people's cause and looks coldly from the side-lines at the struggles and victories of the proletariat and its vanguard; what he is interested in, and will never weary of eulogizing, is himself, plus perhaps a few figures in his small coterie. Of course, such petty-bourgeois individualists are unwilling to eulogize the deeds and virtues of the revolutionary people or heighten their courage in struggle and their confidence in victory. Persons of this type are merely termites in the revolutionary ranks; of course, the revolutionary people have no need for these "singers".

"It is not a question of stand; my class stand is correct, my intentions are good and I understand all right, but I am not good at expressing myself and so the effect turns out bad." I have already spoken about the dialectical materialist view of motive and effect. Now I want to ask, is not the question of effect one of stand? A person who acts solely by motive and does not inquire what effect his action will have is like a doctor who merely writes prescriptions but does not care how many patients die of them. Or take a political party which merely makes declarations but does not care whether they are carried out. It may well be asked, is this a correct stand? And is the intention here good? Of course, mistakes may occur even though the effect has been taken into account beforehand, but is the intention good when one continues in the same old rut after facts have proved that the effect is bad? In judging a party or a doctor, we must look at practice, at the effect. The same applies in judging a writer. A person with truly good intentions must take the effect into account, sum up experience and study the methods or, in creative work, study the technique of expression. A person with truly good intentions must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work with the utmost candour and resolve to correct them. This is precisely why Communists employ the method of self-criticism. This alone is the correct stand. Only in this process of serious and responsible practice is it possible gradually to understand what the correct stand is and gradually obtain a good grasp of it. If one does not move in this direction in practice, if there is simply the complacent assertion that one "understands all right", then in fact one has not understood at all.

"To call on us to study Marxism is to repeat the mistake of the dialectical materialist creative method, which will harm the creative mood." To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical ma-

terialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art. Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics. Empty, dry dogmatic formulas do indeed destroy the creative mood; not only that, they first destroy Marxism. Dogmatic "Marxism" is not Marxism, it is anti-Marxism. Then does not Marxism destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat. So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these kinds of creative moods be destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed.

V

The problems discussed here exist in our literary and art circles in Yen-an. What does that show? It shows that wrong styles of work still exist to a serious extent in our literary and art circles and that there are still many defects among our comrades, such as idealism, dogmatism, empty illusions, empty talk, contempt for practice and aloofness from the masses, all of which call for an effective and serious campaign of rectification.

We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is. "Proletarian ideology?" they think. "The same old stuff!" Little do they know that it is no easy matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest communist flavour about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the Party. Therefore, though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ide-

ology. An ideological struggle is already under way in literary and art circles in Yen-an, and it is most necessary. Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these "comrades" and tell them sharply, "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle, so that every comrade may become sound and our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

Because of confusion in their thinking, many of our comrades are not quite able to draw a real distinction between our revolutionary base areas and the Kuomintang areas and they make many mistakes as a consequence. A good number of comrades have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. One society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, under the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the other is a revolutionary new-democratic society under the leadership of the proletariat. To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power. Here the people around us and the audience for our propaganda are totally different. The past epoch is gone, never to return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation. If, living among the new masses, some comrades, as I said before, are still "lacking in knowledge and understanding" and remain "heroes with no place to display their prowess", then difficulties will arise for them, and not only when they go out to the villages; right here in Yen-an difficulties will arise for them. Some comrades may think, "Well, I had better continue writing for the readers in the Great Rear Area: it is a job I know well and has 'national significance'." This idea is entirely wrong. The Great Rear Area is also changing. Readers there expect authors in the revolutionary base areas to tell about the new people and the new world and not to bore them with the same old tales. Therefore,

the more a work is written for the masses in the revolutionary base areas, the more national significance will it have. Fadeyev in *The Debacle* only told the story of a small guerrilla unit and had no intention of pandering to the palate of readers in the old world; yet the book has exerted world-wide influence. At any rate in China its influence is very great, as you know. China is moving forward, not back, and it is the revolutionary base areas, not any of the backward, retrogressive areas, that are leading China forward. This is a fundamental issue that, above all, comrades must come to understand in the rectification movement.

Since integration into the new epoch of the masses is essential, it is necessary thoroughly to solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses. This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand
pointing fingers,
Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the
children.*

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the pro-

letariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day. Intellectuals who want to integrate themselves with the masses, who want to serve the masses, must go through a process in which they and the masses come to know each other well. This process may, and certainly will, involve much pain and friction, but if you have the determination, you will be able to fulfil these requirements.

Today I have discussed only some of the problems of fundamental orientation for our literature and art movement; many specific problems remain which will require further study. I am confident that comrades here are determined to move in the direction indicated. I believe that in the course of the rectification movement and in the long period of study and work to come, you will surely be able to bring about a transformation in yourselves and in your works, to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of the people, and to advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

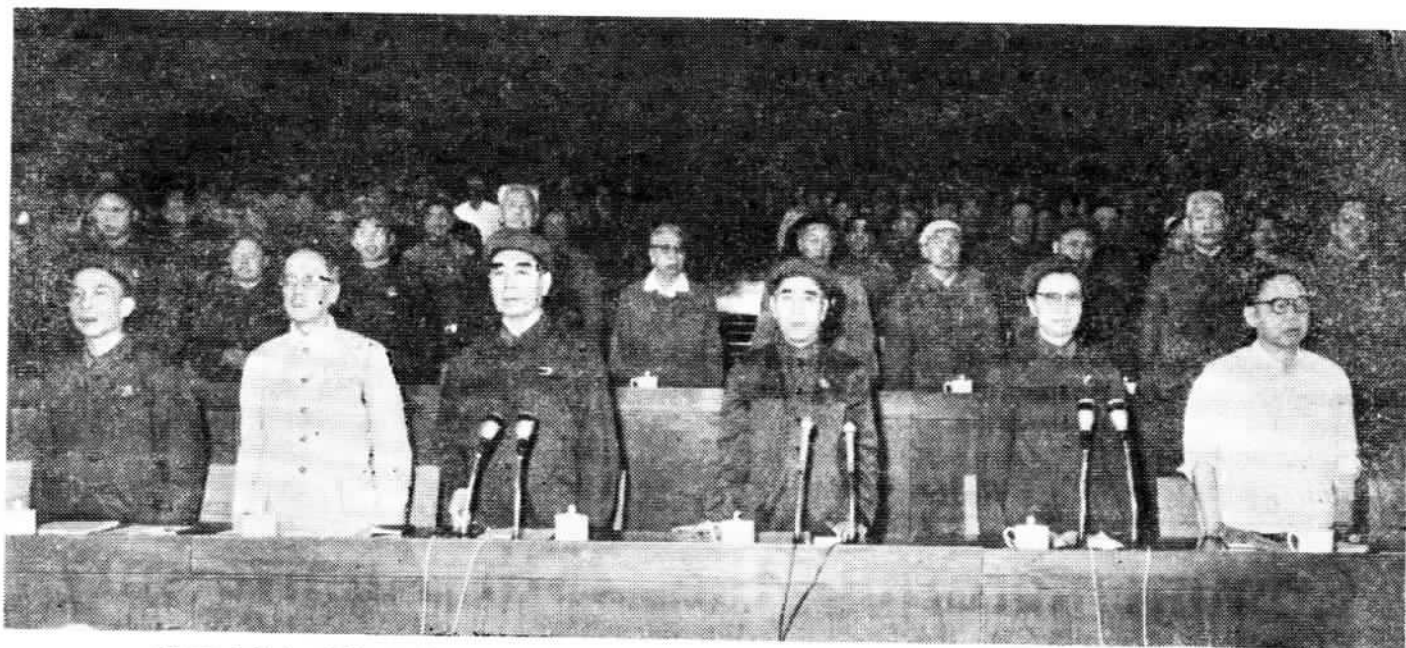
Greeting the World's Advance Into The Great New Epoch of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— Peking Mass Rally Commemorates 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's
Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

SIXTEEN thousand representatives of Peking's literary and art circles, workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary teachers and students and revolutionary cadres held a mass rally on May 23 at the magnificent Great Hall of the People in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work — *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The meeting took place at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao has already won big successes and the situation is excellent, and when the whole world is entering a completely new historical epoch in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner.

Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and responsible comrades of the central departments and of different fields of work attended the meeting. They included Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fuchun, Tung Pi-wu, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Kuo Mo-jo, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yeh Chun, Wu Teh and Wang Tung-hsing.

Held soon after the publication of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Party's Central Committee, the rally marked another important event in the political life



(From left to right) Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao (4th), and Comrade Chou En-lai (3rd), Comrade Chen Po-ta (6th), Comrade Kang Sheng (2nd), Comrade Li Fu-chun (1st) and Comrade Chiang Ching (5th) at the rally.

of China. It was a splendid review of the brilliant victories won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, a solemn pledge to seize still bigger victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution. At a time when this revolution is entering the stage of decisive battle and when proletarian revolutionaries throughout the country are forging alliances to launch a general offensive against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, this rally of far-reaching political and great practical significance will certainly bring tremendous inspiration and strength to China's revolutionary literary and art workers and her hundreds of millions of revolutionary people.

The Great Hall of the People was alive with the participants' sincere revolutionary sentiments for the great leader Chairman Mao—infinite love, respect, loyalty and veneration. It also overflowed with their powerful militant determination to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. A huge portrait in colour of Chairman Mao, who is the red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of China and the whole world, flanked by ten red banners, hung above the centre of the rostrum. Opposite were two red streamers with the slogans written in big characters: "Revolutionary literary and art workers must go among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and go into the heat of struggle unconditionally, wholeheartedly and for a long period of time to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate themselves with them!" and "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, thoroughly smash the sinister, counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art!" Again and again

the participants in the hall recited quotations from Chairman Mao's works and sang the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

The audience rose to its feet, applauded thunderously and shouted prolonged cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" as Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, and Chiang Ching mounted the rostrum.

The rally was presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, the first deputy-leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee. It opened with the entire hall singing the *Internationale*.

In the midst of stormy applause, Comrade Chen Po-ta, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, made an important speech. (See p. 20 for full text.) He was followed by Comrade Chi Pen-yu, who made a long speech entitled "Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art Is a Programme for Building a Mighty, Proletarian Cultural Army." (See p. 24 for full text.)

The two speakers were enthusiastically applauded by the audience who waved their hands and shouted "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Chin Ching-mai, author of the book *The Song of Ouyang Hai*, Yu Hui-yung, the composer of the music for the revolutionary Peking operas *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *On the Docks*, Chung Jun-liang, a performer in the revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment*

of *Women*, and Chen Ju-tang, conductor of the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*, also spoke. They all hailed the great victories won by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and expressed their determination to take the *Talks* as their guide to completely smash the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Also on the rostrum were responsible members of the Party, government and armed forces, the Standing Committee members and members of the Peking Revolutionary Committee, and representatives from various

fields of work and from the many units which produced the eight revolutionary exemplary works *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, *The Red Detachment of Women*, *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphonic music *Shachiapang*.

Amid deafening applause and cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" the rally unanimously adopted a message of salute to Chairman Mao (see p. 32 for full text) and ended triumphantly with the singing of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

Speech at Peking Mass Rally

Commemorating the 25th Anniversary Of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"

by CHEN PO-TA

Comrades:

The world is entering an entirely new historical epoch. It is a new epoch in which the masters are the workers, peasants and soldiers and the great banner is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* by our great teacher Comrade Mao Tse-tung 25 years ago foretold that the new era, in which the workers, peasants and soldiers would be the masters, would soon dawn over China, just as it would, after various developments, soon dawn over every country in the world.

This great work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's is a summation of the great polemic which took place 25 years ago on questions of literature and art but which in essence belong to the realm of politics. It summed up the great debate, centring on the fundamental political issue of our times, of whether to take a positive or negative attitude towards the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is an epoch-making political manifesto of our Party for remoulding the Party, and the whole world, in the image of the vanguard of the proletariat. It solves the question of world outlook for all who wish to become proletarian revolutionaries, solves the question of whether many Communists who have joined the Party organizationally have joined it ideologically, and points out to all Communists and all revolutionaries the bright road of integration with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is not confined to questions of literature and art but, proceeding from the proletarian world outlook, sums up the experience of struggle on the literary and art front. It is the first encyclopaedia of answers in history to the questions of literature and art; it represents a great all-round Marxist-Leninist revolution in literature and art and is our compass and programme in our current great proletarian cultural revolution.

In essence, this great work is also an ideological weapon for the oppressed classes and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, the bugle call for revolutionaries of all countries in their ideological and political struggle against the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries.

In his letter on the revolution in Peking opera, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "**History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters.**" And Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that **this reversal of history had to be reversed.**

The labouring people, the creators of history, the workers, the peasants, the soldiers who are armed workers and peasants, must dominate the scene in literature and art as well as in politics and economics. This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's conclusion.

In class society, without exception the struggles on the cultural and ideological fronts, including the struggle on the front of literature and art, are class struggles. They are one form of class struggle.

As Marx and Engels stated in the *Communist Manifesto*, all class struggles are political struggles.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung threw all the bourgeois supra-class and supra-politics rubbish into the dustbin. He thoroughly criticized and repudiated the reactionary dualism or pluralism of Trotsky's so-called "politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois." Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that supra-class politics simply does not exist and there is no such thing as literature and art independent of class politics. On questions of literature and art, as on all other questions, he consistently expounded the monistic proletarian world outlook. He was absolutely correct in pointing out that **"all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics."**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin's thesis on Party literature. He said that all revolutionary writers must carry out the correct proletarian political line of our Party and take the stand of the proletariat if they really wish to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary people.

Obviously, unless a revolutionary writer carries out the Party's correct proletarian political line and strives to keep to the proletarian world outlook, he will not come close to the worker, peasant and soldier masses or participate in their actual revolutionary struggles. As a result, he will not be able to depict the workers, peasants and soldiers correctly, nor will he be able in his turn to educate them correctly; what is more, he will run counter to their cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: **"Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause"** and **"literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics."** The influence of proletarian politics on literature and art, and the influence which proletarian literature and art in turn exert on proletarian politics is bound to be a long-term process; it will continue all through the long struggle of the proletariat till victory in the revolution, all through the long period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is not accidental. Though we have won victory in the proletarian revolution and brought into being the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must in no circumstances underestimate the influence of the landlord and capitalist classes. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly taught us, classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society, and the struggle still goes on between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle to safeguard the fruits of

the proletarian revolution and oppose the restoration of capitalism is a serious one. The landlord and capitalist classes have forfeited political power and the feudal and capitalist system of ownership. But they are still powerful in the field of culture, ideology, and literature and art. Their literature and art, which have a long history and provide a strong medium of expression for these exploiting classes, still have a market among the masses. It is impossible to shake off at one go this long-standing influence in the field of culture and ideology, and literature and art, after the overthrow of the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes and of international capital by the labouring masses under the leadership of the proletariat. The landlord and capitalist classes, with their close links with international capital, try in every possible way to maintain, consolidate and contend with us for positions in this field, so as to corrupt our masses and our revolutionary cadres. They are using peaceful evolution as a means of enabling the international imperialist forces that formerly enslaved our people to make a comeback and transform our political power, the political power of the proletariat to dispossess the exploiters, back into the political power of the exploiters, of the landlord and capitalist classes, and to transform our socialist state property, our socialist collective property, back into the property of the bloodsuckers, so that they will once again be able to oppress and exploit the people and push them back into the abyss of misery.

While the landlord and capitalist classes and international capital day in and day out dream of regaining their lost paradise, the petty bourgeoisie ceaselessly generates new bourgeois elements. The petty bourgeoisie is characterized by very serious vacillation. The landlord and capitalist classes invariably take advantage of this vacillation, and likewise of the vacillation of the bourgeois intellectuals and quite a number of our cultural, ideological and literary and art workers in order to usurp our positions in the field of culture, ideology and literature and art, and facilitate their activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration. As a matter of fact, some of these positions have remained as of old, while some others have been seized from us.

Comrade Chiang Ching has consistently kept to and defended Chairman Mao's line of revolution in literature and art. She has always fought in the van. In recent years, exerting the greatest efforts she has set up a series of revolutionary models in the field of drama, music, and the dance, driving all kinds of ghosts and monsters out of the arena of literature and art, and has built up the heroic images of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. And together with Comrade Chiang Ching, many of the workers in literature and art, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, have become trailblazers in the revolution in literature and art. In addition to this, the great importance of the efforts made by many revolutionary workers in the field of culture and ideology against the restoration of capitalism is perfectly clear.

Before the proletariat seizes political power, the revolutionary workers in culture, ideology, and literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in life-and-death struggles, the sole aim being to seize proletarian victory and proletarian political power through the various stages of the revolution (from the stage of the democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution). After the proletariat seizes political power, under the dictatorship of the proletariat the revolutionary workers in literature and art, culture and ideology serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the sole aim being to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve the forward leap of socialism in continued revolutionary advance.

And after the proletariat seizes political power, the most practical and fundamental problem confronting us is whether this political power can be maintained, consolidated and strengthened.

In 1949, on the eve of nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung reminded our whole Party of **the imperative necessity to guard against the attacks of the enemy using sugar-coated bullets.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's foresight was both scientific and brilliant.

The enemy has a variety of sugar-coated bullets. He knows very well how to use such sugar-coated bullets as "literature and art." The bourgeoisie makes use of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to "conquer people's minds" and thus weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat and pave the way for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-tung specially raised and emphasized the thesis of **the continued existence of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in socialist society**, in order to counter the "go it alone" trend stirred up by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He also pointed out: **to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.**

It is true to say that both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary classes invariably create public opinion in preparation for the seizure of political power. This is an important law of history expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It holds good, without any exception, for the history of all class struggles, in China and abroad, and in ancient and modern times.

And this preparation of public opinion includes literature and art.

Ever since the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given consistent attention to the question of the proletarian cultural revolution. He has consistently linked the struggles of the proletariat on the political and economic fronts with those

on the cultural and ideological fronts. All the major questions on the cultural and ideological fronts in the last 17 years—beginning with the criticism of the film of national betrayal, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, the obsequious film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the idealist *Studies of the "Dream of the Red Chamber"*—were all raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Today it is imperative for us once more to study the article *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and the whole series of militant writings by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning ideology and literature and art. These writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, produced since China's liberation, call for the liquidation of the forces of habit and the influence of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and, in the final analysis, for the prevention of a capitalist restoration and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If a genuine Communist takes the questions of ideology and of literature and art lightly, or even for a moment ignores Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on these questions, he will make grave political errors, may sink into the quagmire of the bourgeoisie and degenerate without being aware of it politically, may become a counter-revolutionary revisionist like the members of the Khrushchov clique in the Soviet Union, and may even join in the evil work of the representatives of the bourgeoisie who worm their way into the Party, scheming for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration by all sorts of trickery.

Doesn't everything mercilessly reveal all this and prove it to be true? Yes, it does, absolutely.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly sounded the alarm.

In December 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely criticized the weaknesses in the work of our art circles, describing it as "absurd" that the handful of persons in authority within the Party taking the capitalist road were "enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art." He said:

"Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature; the people engaged in them are numerous; and in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there are also quite a few problems in these. As for such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should undertake investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

"Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?"

In June 1964, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave the following warning to the "All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles" and various "associations" set up after liberation:

"In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few are said to be good) by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slid to the verge of revisionism. Unless they make serious efforts to remould themselves, they are bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."

However, the handful of persons who acted as high and mighty bureaucrats were under the spell of the bourgeois and modern revisionist ideas. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's warnings went entirely unheeded by "those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants," "those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants," those "big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on 'acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power'" and those "men of culture" who have long soaked themselves to the marrow in bourgeois ideology. They still carried on desperate struggles along their own bourgeois and modern revisionist road. Then, 18 months later, in February 1966, Peng Chen went so far as to dish up his notorious revisionist "outline report of February." This "outline report" gave concentrated expression to the reactionary ideas of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our proletarian thinker of genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using his invincible scalpel of materialist dialectics, dissected Peng Chen's "outline report of February," fully revealed its despicable features and called on the whole Party to raise aloft the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution. It was done in the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, issued on May 16, 1966.

In this great historic document, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"There are a number of these (representatives of the bourgeoisie) in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

The whole Party must **"hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work,**

education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions.

"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."

The struggle was provoked by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. However, the laws of history worked independently of their will. They lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

Under the great banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, is rising over China's vast land like the morning sun, and it shakes the whole world.

It is the immense political might of the proletariat that has generated the most powerful proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. And there is no doubt that this powerful proletarian cultural revolution will accelerate the progress of our history and usher in a new era of international proletarian revolutionary struggles.

The ever-growing great proletarian cultural revolution is a continuation and development of the great polemic on questions of literature and art which took place in the revolutionary base areas during the 1940's; it is a continuation and development of the great ideological and political debates of that time in the new historical stage; it is the continuation and development of those debates under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. In a succession of great works and directives, and in the great practice of the proletarian cultural revolution which he has initiated and is leading, he has correctly solved a whole series of these problems. This is a most important landmark, indicating that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and

practical questions of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his series of documents and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring our struggle to a higher level on the basis of the experience already gained in the practice of this revolution during the last year, concentrate our criticism and repudia-

tion on the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Long live Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!

Speech at Peking Mass Rally

Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" Is a Programme for Building a Mighty, Proletarian Cultural Army*

by CHI PEN-YU

Comrades, friends, proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, dear young Red Guard fighters!

Let us first wish our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life! And lasting good health to Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms!

I

Today is the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, written by our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. These 25 years have been a period of momentous growth, one unprecedented in the thousands of years of history of our motherland. Who has led us in turning

*Slightly abridged.

the oppressed, exploited, dark and impoverished, semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into the independent, unified, sound and powerful socialist New China? It is our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao! It is he, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!

Chairman Mao is not only the great leader of the Chinese people but also the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. As many proletarian revolutionary comrades in the world today so correctly say, Chairman Mao is the Lenin of the present era.

Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era.

Since its birth, Marxism has gone through three great stages of development. The first stage was the

stage of Marx and Engels, who established Marxism and worked out the theory of scientific socialism. The second stage was the stage of Leninism. When capitalism entered the era of imperialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution, especially those concerning the theory and practice of realizing the proletarian dictatorship in a single country. The third stage is the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism further developed in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius solved a series of important questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, especially those concerning the theory and practice of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has thus brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin emphatically pointed out: **"Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics."** **"A Marxist is solely someone who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."** And today, no one is a genuine Marxist if he only pays lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat but does not recognize that, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the struggle between the efforts of the proletariat to defend its dictatorship and those of the bourgeoisie to overthrow this dictatorship. From what can be learnt from the emergence of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and from the historical experience internationally of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the light of the schemes for a capitalist restoration carried out by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in China, our great leader Chairman Mao has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the most complete revolutionary theory for opposing counter-revolutionary revisionism and defending the proletarian dictatorship and has personally aroused and led hundreds of millions of people in carrying out this unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, thereby making a great contribution in theory and practice to the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art is a great Marxist-Leninist work that shines with dazzling radiance in the splendid treasure-house of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the most complete, most systematic and most correct programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the first work of its kind in the history of the proletarian revolution. It is

an embodiment of universal truth, a brilliant and epoch-making document in the history of human culture.

When this brilliant work was published in 1942, the anti-fascist war which was raging throughout the world and China's War of Resistance Against Japan were in their most bitter stage. It was at this time that a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades, such as Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei and Ting Ling produced many poisonous weeds and made wild attacks on the Party. They viciously attacked the Party leadership, energetically advocated "freedom of creation," opposed the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and publicized the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and "love of humanity." They opposed extolling the proletariat. In an attempt to incite others to come out and attack the Party and the people, they talked such nonsense as "even the sun has spots" and "the task of literature and art has always been to expose." Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei, Ting Ling and others stirred up this anti-Party adverse current in the literary and art circles in Yen-an in co-ordination with the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries' wild attacks on the liberated areas. Its purpose was to disintegrate the revolutionary forces, to undermine the people's political power in the base areas and to sabotage the War of Resistance Against Japan.

At that time, the Yen-an rectification campaign, which is well known in the history of our Party, was unfolding on a large scale, and the struggle between the two lines on the political, ideological and cultural fronts was very acute. The Yen-an forum on literature and art was an important component part of this great rectification campaign. The *Talks*, which are of immense historic significance, were delivered by Chairman Mao at this forum and became the guide to the great Yen-an rectification campaign and to the building up of a political party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's *Talks* made a most penetrating criticism of the anti-Party adverse current and various bourgeois reactionary trends of thought, which were then appearing on the cultural front. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. The revolutionary literary and art forces are an army serving the political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.** Chairman Mao said: **"In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** He also pointed out that proletarian literature and art **"operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they**

help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind" and that they are instruments for winning liberation and seizing political power. Chairman Mao's idea of regarding literary and art workers as an army serving the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has fundamentally solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. In his *Talks*, Chairman Mao also solved the problem of the general orientation of struggle for the mighty proletarian cultural army. He pointed out that **the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.**

This proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art put forward by Chairman Mao clearly indicated to revolutionary literary and art workers the objectives of their fight and the orientation of their struggle, struck at the enemy's vitals and repulsed the frantic attacks by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades. In response to the call Chairman Mao made in his *Talks*, fine literary and art workers in the Liberated Areas went among the workers, peasants and soldiers to learn from them and portray them. They used literature and art as means to encourage the people and to attack and annihilate the enemy, thus performing meritorious service in the great cause of liberating the nation and the people and in the struggle to seize and consolidate the people's political power.

II

We are solemnly commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's great, epoch-making work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* at a time when there is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This has a very important practical significance.

The victory of the socialist revolution, of the struggle of the proletariat to seize power, does not mean that class struggle has ended. On the eve of the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao said: **"After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly."** After the proletariat seizes power, class enemies which have been overthrown will always attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback and the question of who will win is still not settled. In order to recapture their lost power, the exploiting classes will first of all create public opinion and prepare the ground ideologically for their attempt at a counter-revolutionary restoration. Literature and art are one of their advance positions for creating public opinion for their counter-revolutionary restoration and carrying out their scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government. The

top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Teng To, who usurped the leadership in cultural circles, took control of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the associations under the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. They held the leadership in many (not all) cultural and publishing institutions and they turned these institutions and organizations into revisionist clubs, into tools of the bourgeoisie for opposing the Party and socialism.

Our wise and great leader long ago saw through the conspiratorial activities of this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Between 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out on many occasions that, since liberation, various departments in culture and art, including literature, the drama, the cinema, balladry, music, the fine arts and the dance, and the art academies and schools **"by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction."** He said, **"the 'dead' still dominate"** many departments. Our stage was not dominated by workers, peasants and soldiers. Instead, it was dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters. We were subjected here to the dictatorship of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Particularly during the period of the country's economic difficulties between 1959 and 1962, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, took the opportunity to put out a large number of poisonous weeds such as *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan* and *Li Hui-niang*. In these they insidiously attacked and insulted our great Party in an attempt to reverse the verdicts on the Right opportunist Peng Teh-huai and others dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting and to incite people to join them in activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration. At the same time, many plays and operas glorifying renegades, propagating capitulationism and advocating the philosophy of survival, such as *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, *Peach Blossom Fan* and *Li Hsiu-cheng*, appeared one after another. The situation in the cinema was even more striking. What a lot of poison was spread by films from those of the early post-liberation period, such as the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* down to the more recent *Storming the City* and *Threshold of Spring!* They perpetrated every conceivable evil in vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers and prettifying capitalism, feudalism and revisionism in order to glorify the capitalist road and carry out their scheme

for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Moreover, in accordance with the wishes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they distorted the history of the Party, established China's Khrushchov as a hero on the screen and gave three cheers for Right opportunism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out, "it is a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-Party activities." This was exactly what the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Chou Yang did. Under their direction, a novel appeared which aimed at vindicating the notorious anti-Party element Kao Kang and which openly distorted history directing an attack against the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao.

However, these counter-revolutionary revisionists' conspiratorial activities aimed at a capitalist restoration could not escape exposure by the magic, monster-detecting mirror of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. Therefore, this pack of ghosts and monsters extremely feared and hated the *Talks*. They used all manner of despicable means to spread such fallacious theories as "truthful writing," "writing about middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" in order to attack this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's.

"Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves." All their attacks on Chairman Mao's brilliant work have long ago been utterly crushed by the criticisms contained in Chairman Mao's *Talks* itself. Led by Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses who have mastered the powerful weapon of the *Talks* have launched repeated tit-for-tat struggles against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities."

As far back as 1951, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In 1954, he again initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih.

The struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique took place between 1954 and 1955, and since 1957 struggles have been carried out to repulse the Rightists, to oppose Right opportunism and to criticize Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" and Chou Ku-cheng's theory of "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age."

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in 1962, in particular, Chairman Mao issued the great, militant call to the entire Party and all the Chinese people "never to forget class struggle," and directed them to take a firm hold of the class struggle in the fields of ideology.

On two occasions in 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao gave extremely important instructions concerning literary and art work, hitting hard at the sinister counter-revolutionary, revisionist line on literature and art represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Following this, Comrade Chiang Ching, a most courageous fighter on the cultural front, responded enthusiastically to Chairman Mao's call and led vanguard fighters in the cultural revolution to mount an offensive against the stage of art occupied by the lords of the exploiting classes. They broke through ring upon ring of repression and obstruction created by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and for the first time succeeded in making the heroic image of the real creators of history — the workers, peasants and soldiers — shine in splendour on the stage of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. The lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters who for so long have dominated the stage of art are beginning to be ousted. This reversal of history has been reversed. This is an illustrious milestone in the history of the proletarian cultural revolution. All the victories in these struggles are victories for the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art represented by Chairman Mao, victories for this great work of Chairman Mao's.

Then came the moment for the proletariat to launch a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

In November 1965, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction given at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by Comrade Chiang Ching, launched the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, thus firing the first shot at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and sounding the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In February of the following year Comrade Chiang Ching was entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao to call the forum on literature and art in the armed forces. This was a highly important meeting in the history of China's struggle in the field of culture. As pointed out by Comrade Chiang Ching, the forum opened a fierce attack on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" who had monopolized the leadership in cultural circles for many long years.

The forum, presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, adopted the "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces." This "Summary," revised by Chairman Mao himself on three occasions, gives an extremely penetrating and correct analysis of many fundamental questions concerning the struggle since liberation between the two lines on the literary and art front. Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that the "Summary" "is a very good document which uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer

many important questions concerning the cultural revolution during the socialist period. It not only has tremendous practical significance but has far-reaching and profound historical significance as well."

Soon afterwards, the great historic document — the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. It put forward in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, shattering the "February Outline," a reactionary programme for restoring capitalism knocked up by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique represented by Peng Chen. It repulsed their counter-attack and threw them into confusion, and set in motion the great proletarian cultural revolution which swept the whole country.

Like an irresistible torrent, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary young Red Guard fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have charged straight into the "palaces of hell" ruled by the ghosts and monsters.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee collapsed!

The old Ministry of Culture collapsed!

The old Peking Municipal Party Committee collapsed!

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who used to be so arrogant and regard themselves as "important figures," may look like giants, but in fact are only paper tigers that cannot withstand a single blow!

III

The acute struggle on the cultural front since the liberation of the whole country clearly shows that the struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is, in the last analysis, a struggle between the bourgeoisie which wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat which fights against it.

In the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mighty revolutionary cultural army is an important force in opposing a capitalist restoration and checking the spread of revisionism. It relies primarily on the people's army with guns to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the cultural army is also indispensable. Like the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the cultural army, too, has the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

Today we must fully realize the important role the revolutionary cultural army plays in the struggle to

consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the building of this mighty proletarian cultural army. We must use it to establish a correct orientation, build up our ranks and arm our fighters.

As the mighty proletarian cultural army forges ahead braving the winds and storms in the great proletarian cultural revolution, every one of our fighters is confronted with all sorts of questions. What road should the literary and art circles take? What is their fighting task at present? What are the principles and policies for literary and art work? The answers to all these questions can be found in Chairman Mao's *Talks*.

First, hold fast to Chairman Mao's orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, actively participate in the revolutionary mass campaign of criticism and repudiation, and fight to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his *Talks* Chairman Mao pointed out: "**This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle.**" This is the question of orientation for literary and art work. Should literature and art serve the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers or a handful of exploiters? Should they serve the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their activities for capitalist restoration? This is the focal point of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The struggle between the two lines in literary and art circles over the past 17 years has demonstrated in practice that the question of orientation remains the most fundamental one for the cultural circles, which have been controlled and influenced by the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line over a long period of time. Only when we have solved the question of the general orientation for literary and art work not only in theory but also in practice can we take a firm proletarian revolutionary stand and fight in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defence of socialism and against capitalist restoration.

The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the real creators of history, the masters of socialist society. To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means that the literary and art workers must go among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must go into the heat of the struggle, and "**move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat,**" so as to transform thoroughly their thoughts and feelings and their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They must become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and create the new

literature and art of the proletariat. Only in this way can they really make literature and art powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists used double-dealing tactics to furiously oppose the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. To counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, they put forward the slogan of "a literature and art of the whole people."

In 1962, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks*, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and company put on a sham celebration and produced a big poisonous weed—the article "In the Service of the Broadest Masses of the People." In it, they maintained that literature and art should serve "the whole people" including bourgeois elements and hoisted the reactionary evil flag of "literature and art of the whole people." They even openly declared that "socialist culture is a culture of the whole people."

Can proletarian literature and art serve the bourgeoisie? Can socialist culture be a culture of the whole people?

Absolutely not. Chairman Mao long ago denounced such absurd views in his *Talks*.

"A literature and art of the whole people" is nothing new; it is merely a duplication in the field of literature and art of Khrushchov's "state of the whole people" and "Party of the entire people." There is absolutely no such thing as a literature and art of the "whole people" in the world. Literature and art must be something which either serves the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han's theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" is, in the guise of transcending classes, to oppose literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics, and to turn literature and art into a counter-revolutionary tool of capitalist restoration.

There is no construction without destruction. In the mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we must smash their orientation of literature and art serving counter-revolutionary revisionism, and firmly establish our orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must use Chairman Mao's *Talks* as our weapon and take an active part in the mass movement of criticism and repudiation, to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state.

Secondly, organize the Left forces to do a good job of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* in each unit.

Bourgeois rule in our cultural circles must not continue any longer. Proletarian revolutionaries must

seize power in the leading organs, cultural organizations, art academies and schools in which the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been entrenched and which they have controlled for the past 17 years.

A mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution must be organized, and in each unit strong Left forces be formed step by step in the course of the struggle. Proletarian revolutionaries should bring about a revolutionary great alliance in the course of the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, co-ordinate their efforts in doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units, and direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, expose their crimes, wipe out their evil influence and completely refute, overthrow and discredit them!

Reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities" should be thoroughly criticized and repudiated.

A new and truly revolutionary core leading the cultural forces should be established in all places where power needs to be seized.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions in the *Talks*, all forces that can be united should be united, the relationship between enemies, friends, and ourselves should be clearly distinguished, and a line of demarcation should be drawn between the two different types of contradictions. There are people who support the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao but have said or done something wrong, written works that are not good or acted in bad plays. However, so long as they dare to examine their own mistakes and gain a clear understanding of them, we proletarian revolutionaries should welcome and unite with these people and work with them in carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation.

Thirdly, pay attention to creative work, establish good models and make great efforts to create new proletarian works.

Paying close attention to creative work is a key to overthrowing bourgeois literature and art and developing proletarian revolutionary literature and art. In the light of the new situation in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, generally speaking, all cultural

* "Struggle-criticism-transformation" is the abbreviation of the tasks set forth in the famous 15-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the cultural revolution, which states: at present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

units should carry on their own struggle-criticism-transformation, and at the same time create and produce modern, revolutionary works of literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Creative works by workers, peasants and soldiers must be given serious attention and helped to develop. The fine works of literature and art springing up from among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are reflections of the new features of the epoch of our country's proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary literary and art workers ought to learn modestly from them.

In paying attention to creative work the most essential thing lies, in turn, in the establishing of fine models. Peking operas with contemporary themes like *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *the Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*; the revolutionary ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*; and the symphonic music *Shachiapang* form a series of such fine models. They are new models of art shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The appearance of these fine artistic models is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

The proletariat requires fine artistic works in which real revolutionary struggles are integrated with noble revolutionary ideals. Such fine works can be produced only by following the creative method advanced by Chairman Mao, that of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The blind worship of that which is ancient, foreign, and revisionist and the habit of certain slavish worshippers who cannot open their mouths without quoting the ancient Greeks must be done away with. We have no faith in heaven, nor blind faith in that which is foreign, famous and ancient. We believe only in the workers, peasants and soldiers, the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must never have blind belief in ancient Peking opera, films of the 1930's, French literature, England's Shakespeare, Russia's Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Stanislavsky and the revisionist Soviet Union's Sholokhov. We must critically take over those ancient things which are good and also critically assimilate those foreign things which are good. But in so doing, we must follow Chairman Mao's instructions of "making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China," and never allow ourselves to be misled by the exploiting classes' rubbish.

Anyone who looks down upon the labouring people and the proletariat, follows others blindly and obsequiously complies with their wishes will never succeed. Our artistic treasures that shake the world are not *Swan Lake* copied from the bourgeoisie by Westernized experts who were worshipped by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road like "gods," but our own revolutionary ballets, *The Red Detachment*

of Women and *The White-Haired Girl*. We did not intend these two ballets of ours for the whole world, but they have been warmly acclaimed by progressive people everywhere, who did not expect that this ancient art form gradually decaying in the Western world would burst into new and youthful life in the East. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters called our artistic treasures "vulgar trash," treating the rubbish of foreign countries as almighty. Having received a bit of Western education, they have forgotten their ancestors, and prate that "even the moon in foreign countries looks rounder." One wonders whether they have any sense of shame.

We should learn from the initiators and the vanguard fighters of the revolution in Peking opera, ballet and symphony. The revolution in Peking opera, ballet and symphony is the most difficult battle of storming strong fortresses on the literary and art front. They are the prologue to the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Difficulties are great and the struggle is hard. The bourgeoisie and those monsters and demons have incessantly attacked, slandered, and viciously persecuted the vanguard fighters on the literary and art front. But Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* has inspired them. They have never become disheartened and have no fear of difficulty. In order to take the literary and art positions from the bourgeoisie, in order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, the pioneers of the cultural revolution have, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, waged long, uninterrupted, and bitter struggle. After overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles, they have finally opened up a bright road in a desolate land, using the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon. Their revolutionary fighting spirit, which finds expression in their courage, perseverance and staunchness, has set an example for all cultural fighters. Now that our vanguard fighters have broken through such seemingly impregnable strongholds of literature and art as Peking opera, ballet, and symphony, is there any other stronghold of literature and art in the world that can't be broken through? Fighters of our mighty cultural army, hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march forward courageously and with complete confidence!

Fourthly, open up mass literary and art criticism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art." In literary and art criticism, it is essential to adhere to the principle that political criterion must be put first and artistic criterion second. All reactionary ideas and works of literature and art that harm the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution must be criticized and repudiated. In no circumstance should these poisonous weeds be allowed to spread unchecked to poison the minds of the people.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters did their best to spread around an absurd argument about "harmless" works, saying that "whatever play relaxes and pleases the audience is good." Are there really any so-called "harmless" works in the world? No. Chairman Mao teaches us in the *Talks*: **"In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."** One man's meat is another man's poison. How can there be any work of literature or art that is "harmless" to all classes? Hasn't enough harm been done to the labouring people, especially to the younger generation, by decadent bourgeois and revisionist works of literature and art? The purpose of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in spreading this fallacy of "harmlessness" was to use it as a shield to prevent criticism by the masses so that all sorts of big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds could be labelled "harmless" and sold to hundreds of millions of revolutionaries. Their aim was to lull the labouring people and poison their minds with such works of literature and art so as to carry out their scheme of peaceful evolution and capitalist restoration.

Moreover, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists resisted literary and art criticism by flaunting the banner of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." They clamoured for "opening wide," saying that "there should be freedom to 'open wide,'" that "all kinds of things should be tolerated and accepted," that "there should be free competition," that "there should be fewer restrictions," that "there should not be too much interference" and that "there should be no crudeness." They used such slogans to open the way for the proliferation of their poisonous weeds and create public opinion for their conspiratorial activities for a bourgeois restoration.

They completely distorted Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and emasculated the class content of this great policy. "To let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the class policy of the proletariat and is aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and encouraging proletarian culture. In discussing this policy, Chairman Mao said: **"We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked."** He also said: **"to 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticise and dare**

to debate." And by "opening wide," these revisionists actually meant bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only poisonous weeds to "open wide" but not fragrant flowers, and allow only Rightists to air their views but would not permit the Left to debate. This means a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over us, the proletariat, and this we will absolutely not allow! We will act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and eradicate all the poisonous weeds you have spread.

"Don't be crude?" Those who are really crude are no one but the bourgeois overlords. In places under their rule, not even a single new shoot belonging to the proletariat is allowed to grow. Is this not crude? No sooner do new things emerge than they want to wildly suppress, satirize, curse, repress, attack, encircle and strangle them, going to every extreme. Is there anything cruder than all this?

Precisely when a few models had been created during the Peking opera revolution, the bourgeois overlords tried to suppress and sabotage them. Having failed, they indulged in all kinds of abuse, saying that "modern Peking opera is as dull as plain water," that "it is nothing but modern drama plus singing." Aren't you ready to give up yet? Be so kind as to take out the best old Peking operas and compare them with our models! Is there anything in the old Peking opera that can compare with ours? Who after all act more beautifully — the workers, peasants and soldiers in our modern operas, or the lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters in the old Peking opera? On the old Peking opera stage, the emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, are ugly through-and-through, from their soul to their appearance. Can they compare with the workers, peasants and soldiers on our stage? They cannot, neither politically nor ideologically, nor even artistically. Is there anything in our modern opera so loose, languid and dispirited as in the old Peking opera?

The old Peking opera was performed for 130 or 140 years while we have put on the new ones for only three or four years. The three or four years of the new have defeated the 130 or 140 years of the old. The revolution has hit you the bourgeois lords hard and your arbitrary rule can no longer be maintained. So you foist the blame on us, alleging that we were crude. You have indeed turned black into white and right into wrong! You had better take back all this stuff!

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists are most afraid of the masses' criticism and they curse our criticism, saying it is a "club." Chairman Mao says: **"We should support whatever the enemy opposes."** What they fear is precisely what we should encourage. We do, indeed, want to promote mass literary and art criticism. If this mass criticism is called

a "club," then this is the proletariat's "steel club" and "gold club" especially for the purpose of beating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. It is very precious. And furthermore, we say to the bourgeois lords: this kind of "club" will be greatly strengthened through the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The line of placing sole reliance on "experts" in literary and art criticism must be smashed. It is utterly wrong to make literary and art criticism an "ivory tower" for intellectuals, something monopolized by a few people.

The weapon of literary and art criticism must be wielded by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are aroused to examine works of literature and art, can the real poisonous weeds be eradicated and the genuine fragrant flowers be protected. Only by arousing them to examine literary and art works, can the quality of the works be raised and creative activity in revolutionary literature and art flourish.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up a new era which will provide

the best conditions for a vigorous development of proletarian literature and art. A new era of brilliant revolutionary culture has begun!

Let us arm ourselves with the brilliant works of our great leader, ceaselessly remould ourselves, closely follow Chairman Mao and the revolutionary worker, peasant and soldier masses, carry on uninterrupted revolution, always be revolutionaries. Let us defend the great dictatorship of the proletariat and build proletarian revolutionary culture, the most magnificent and resplendent culture in human history!

Let all reactionaries who try to go against the tide of history tremble before the great victories of the proletariat!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Message of Salute to Chairman Mao

Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

In the course of the great battle for the thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we proletarian revolutionaries in the capital have gathered at this grand meeting to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of your brilliant work, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. With feelings of profound esteem, respect and fervour, we extend the loftiest, militant salute of the great proletarian cultural revolution to you, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman! At the tops of our voices we cheer: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to you!

Your great work, the *Talks*, makes a most deepgoing criticism and repudiation of the reactionary ideological trend appearing in the struggle between the two roads on the cultural front. It maps out the most complete, most thorough, most correct and most revolutionary proletarian line on literature and art for the revolutionary literature and art workers of China and the whole world; it sets out the great programme for building a mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution. It raises the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art to a totally new stage. It is the powerful ideological

weapon for the eradication of all reactionary culture; it is the guide to action for the revolutionary literature and art workers and revolutionary intellectuals in the transformation of their world outlook.

However, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists he backed — Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and Hsia Yen — have frantically opposed and vilified your *Talks*. Operating through the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which were under their control, and using the propaganda positions they usurped, they went all-out to spread poison, opposing literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics and actively beating the drum and clearing the way for the restoration of capitalism. In the more than ten years since the founding of our Republic, the sinister line in culture and art represented by these reactionaries has exercised dictatorship over us in the literary and art circles.

We shall never forget that over the past 17 years you have given a series of brilliant instructions guiding the struggle between the two roads on the literary and art front, that you have personally launched and led

every important struggle of criticism and repudiation, as a result of which one position after another has been recovered from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its agents, and one brilliant victory after another has been won!

It is you who have, with the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist wisdom and genius as well as the most tremendous courage and vigour, launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history. In the course of this, China's Khrushchov hiding in the Party and the handful of persons within the Party who were in authority and taking the capitalist road have been exposed, the counter-revolutionary revisionist bosses who have usurped the leadership in literary and art circles have been rooted out, the "gods of hell" have been overthrown, the "little goblins" under their oppression have been freed, and the death knell has sounded for the sinister line of revisionism in literature and art.

Chairman Mao, our Chairman Mao! We, the proletarian revolutionaries in literary and art circles, with the close attention and under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, have correctly put into practice your brilliant thought and have created outstanding models of proletarian literature and art like the revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes—*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*—the revolutionary ballets—*The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*—and the revolutionary symphonic work *Shachiapang*, and we have thus won a great victory that shakes the whole arena of art, that shakes all China and the entire world, and sounds the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a great victory for the revolutionary line in literature and art of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers which you have laid down, as well as a great victory for your *Talks*.

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We give you our pledge that we will seriously study and apply your *Talks* and all your directives, that we will thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in literary and art circles, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" and utterly destroy all the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. At the same time as we carry out large-scale criticism and repudiation, we undertake to do an even better job of struggle-criticism-transformation in our own organizations, to unite with the great majority of the cadres and masses, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Chairman Mao, the very red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts! We, revolutionary workers in literature and art, will without fail keep in mind the earnest and patient way in which you exhorted us in the *Talks*: **"All revolutionary artists and writers of**

China, all artists and writers of promise, must for long periods of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go into the midst of the masses, into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers. . . ." We will set in motion a vigorous movement to go right among the workers, peasants and soldiers, to factories, to the countryside and to army companies to live there for long periods of time and learn earnestly from the workers, peasants and soldiers. We will creatively study and apply your works and thoroughly remould our world outlook in the heat of class struggle. We will throw overboard all considerations of seeking fame and material gains. We will make a thorough transformation of all the ideas, sentiments and styles of work that are at variance with those of the proletariat. We will, throughout our lives, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! Without fail we will follow the teachings set forth in your *Talks*, wield our pens as swords and spears and plunge valiantly into the battle to bury completely all that is bourgeois, feudal and revisionist! We will create new and original socialist and proletarian works! We will extol proletarian heroes and raise our voices to sing the praise of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, so that the heroic image of workers, peasants and soldiers armed with your brilliant thought will always dominate the stage of literature and art and so that our literature and art will really become **"powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."**

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We are happy and proud to be your fighters on the literary and art front. We are determined always to bear in mind your teaching: **"It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be on the alert and never lose vigilance."** After destroying the sinister line which exists at present in literature and art, another will appear in the future and we will have to struggle again. We will always be Red Guards for your revolutionary line on literature and art. Whenever a revisionist sinister line appears in literature and art, we will take the initiative to rebel against it, launch an offensive against it, and raise a hurricane to pull it up by the roots!

Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We will always be loyal to you, to your thought and to your revolutionary line. Led by you—our great supreme commander—we will carry on the long march of the proletarian cultural revolution!

We heartily wish you a long life, a long, long life!

The Rally in the Capital to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks* at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art

May 23, 1967

Fight to Safeguard the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

—Commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of
Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, in a great polemic and struggle in literary and art circles, Chairman Mao published his *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*, an epoch-making work of genius. Today, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, in the fight for the thorough liquidation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, this great work has further demonstrated its incomparable strength.

The *Yen'an Talks* smashed every type of bourgeois reactionary theory on literature and art. It is the most comprehensive scientific summing-up of the fundamental experience of the movement for proletarian literature and art in China and the rest of the world. It has creatively formulated the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing and correct proletarian line on literature and art. It is a brilliant example of proletarian theory on literature and art, a new development in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the *Talks*, Chairman Mao solved, in a penetrating and systematic way, the problem of general orientation, that is, that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Chairman Mao says: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." To serve the millions upon millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, or to serve the handful of exploiting classes? To serve the proletariat, or to serve the bourgeoisie? This is the demarcation line separating the literature and art of the proletariat from that of the bourgeoisie. This is the focal point of the struggle between the line on literature and art of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art.

By serving the workers, peasants and soldiers we mean that literature and art must serve the needs of their struggle, serve their fundamental interests. And it is only through politics that the needs of the struggle and the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers find their concentrated expression. Politics means class struggle, seizure of political power and

consolidation of political power. Therefore, to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means to serve the political struggle of the proletariat, to serve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary literary and art workers must maintain a firm proletarian stand and enthusiastically sing the praises of the people, the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary struggles and the heroes of these struggles. They must relentlessly expose the monstrous features and ugly soul of the enemy, expose the bourgeoisie's schemes for a counter-revolutionary restoration. They must make every drama, every song, every work of literature and art a battle-cry inspiring the people's revolutionary struggle, a dagger piercing the heart of the enemy. In a word, as Chairman Mao says: "All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists." Only in this way can literature and art become "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy," and powerful tools for the political struggle of the proletariat and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, it is necessary to engage in struggle and to carry out resolute and deep-going criticism and repudiation of all trends of thought and works of literature and art which run counter to the concept of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. Fallacious ideas should on no account be allowed to spread to poison the people.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, literary and art workers must take the road of revolutionization, go into the very midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and society in the heat of the mass struggle in order to radically remould themselves and "move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat." Chairman Mao has pointed out that this change in stand and in thinking and feelings means the remoulding of one's world outlook. This is

the key to correctly solving the question of whom to serve.

Chairman Mao's line on literature and art is a thoroughgoing revolutionary line, which points out the only correct road for the development of proletarian literature and art. The history of the last 25 years shows that when they develop in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao, revolutionary literature and art, revolutionary literary and art criticism and the revolutionary mass movement for literature and art flourish and develop vigorously and are ever victorious. It is precisely because of this that Chairman Mao's line on literature and art has been the object of wild attacks by class enemies inside and outside the Party.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles including Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Shao Chuan-lin have viciously attacked the *Talks*. Using underhand, double-dealing tactics, they tried in every way to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and obstinately pushed through a counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art.

The main slogan of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is "a literature and art of the whole people." This is no new product but simply a different version of the "literature and art transcending classes" peddled long ago by such scribblers in Chiang Kai-shek's pay as Liang Shih-chiu and his ilk. Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out at that time: **They "talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art."** The class essence of the theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" is exactly the same. Displaying the signboard of "the whole people," it in fact serves the bourgeoisie and the handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

This reactionary theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" has been concocted on the basis of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" advanced by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line of the "Party of the entire people" and the "state of the whole people." "A literature and art of the whole people" means turning proletarian literature and art into bourgeois literature and art in order to prepare public opinion for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the praising of the workers, peasants and soldiers and their occupation of the stage of literature and art. Using as his pretext the argument that "excellent technique" can "delight people," the Khrushchov of China openly advocated the staging of such obscene operas as *The Emperor Flirts With the Waitress*, which glorify the decadent and licentious life of the feudal monarchs, and *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother* which honours a traitor. In addition, Chou Yang and

his like advocated writing about "middle characters," which in fact meant writing about people who obstinately took the capitalist road by engaging in speculation and trafficking and by working to extend private plots and free markets, to increase the number of small enterprises solely responsible for their own profits or losses and to fix output quotas based on the individual household.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the waging of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and against everything decadent in literary and art circles. The originators of this theory raised the slogan of the so-called very "extensive" "unity," which negated struggle. This slogan meant uniting everyone and lumping them all together while making no distinction between different classes and between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. It aimed at getting the proletariat to give up in face of the bourgeoisie the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, to prostrate itself before bourgeois literature and art and to bow down in surrender to the reactionary bourgeois "authorities." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road even proposed that "the method of struggle should not be used" against counter-revolutionary works of literature and art aimed at the restoration of capitalism.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the integration of literary and art workers with the workers, peasants and soldiers to remould their own world outlook. They were urged to "go and have a look" by car instead of going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, going into the heat of the class struggle and carrying out long-term, arduous ideological remoulding. The Khrushchov of China slandered those writers who were truly one with the workers, peasants and soldiers as "native writers" "only knowing what concerns the common people," while lauding the "Westernized writers" who "understand" *Swan Lake*, *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Maid of the Sea*. Actually it is far from easy to "know what concerns the common people" and this is the most important thing for revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionary comrades. And, in palming himself off as an expert and lauding the "Westernized writers" who "understand" *Swan Lake*, *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Maid of the Sea*, that fellow who despises "the common people" and "what concerns the common people" was in fact giving the go ahead signal for capitalist and revisionist literature and art.

This counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line and the restoration of capitalism.

The attempt at a capitalist restoration and the struggle against it is the main content of class struggle throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The overthrown exploiting classes engage in intrigues, manoeuvres and all forms of struggle to seize back their lost political power. And they use

literature and art as a very important means to this end.

Under the domination of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, the counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles recruited deserters and renegades, and formed cliques to serve their own selfish interests. They praised to the skies the foul intellectual aristocrats, reactionary "authorities," counter-revolutionaries and those who, like termites, were undermining the revolution. They turned many literary and art organizations into "groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club." They usurped the leadership in literary and art circles, occupied important posts, issued orders, bullied people, threw their weight around and exercised a dictatorship over us.

Under this line, they produced many poisonous weeds and released them through the media of books, newspapers, magazines, the stage and the screen to attack our great leader Chairman Mao, and the great Communist Party of China. They attacked the socialist system, the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune. They glorified big careerists and conspirators in order to secure them a place in history and made bitter complaints on behalf of anti-Party elements and Right opportunists. They prettified renegades, traitors and Kuomintang reactionaries and incited the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists to engage in class revenge.

All this centred on one point, namely, opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preparation of public opinion for the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government and to restore capitalism.

As to Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company, Chairman Mao has time and again given them severe political warnings. In 1964, Chairman Mao solemnly pointed out: **"In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few are said to be good) by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slid to the verge of revisionism. Unless they make serious efforts to remould themselves, they are bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."** It is intolerable that they and their bosses behind the scenes should have unscrupulously blocked, distorted, adulterated and even openly countered Chairman Mao's successive instructions on criticism and repudiation of reactionary theories and reactionary works of literature and art. They attacked and attempted to force out Comrade Chiang Ching, who had been steadfastly carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and waging a resolute struggle against them, and they suppressed and persecuted revolutionary literary and art workers.

Facts show that only through the great proletarian cultural revolution can Chairman Mao's line be truly carried out in all spheres of literature and art. Now, the counter-revolutionary revisionists Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company have been dragged out, and the backer of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, China's Khrushchov, has also been dragged out. This is a great political victory which has paved the way for carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art.

With this line to guide them, Comrade Chiang Ching and the revolutionary literary and art workers put up a strenuous struggle to overcome many obstacles, and have already produced a number of revolutionary Peking operas and ballets and a revolutionary symphony, all reflecting the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. These works are full of militancy and proletarian revolutionary heroism. They are models in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are gems in the treasury of proletarian literature and art, precious works in the art history of mankind. They have put to rights the turning of history upside down over thousands of years during which the stage was dominated by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. We are firmly convinced that, as a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution and illuminated by Chairman Mao's brilliant proletarian line on literature and art, China's literary and art front will take on an extraordinary splendour.

In marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, we must study and apply it creatively in the course of struggle and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We must make further efforts to carry forward the class struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front, mount a large-scale campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles and of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, seize all power in the leading organs, art schools, literary and art journals and organizations under their control, and keep this power in the hands of the proletariat. We must thoroughly and penetratingly criticize and repudiate and completely discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and the bad operas, bad films and other bad works of literature and art.

Revolutionary literary and art workers and all other revolutionary comrades, let us follow Chairman Mao's instructions, completely remould our world outlook in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and become staunch revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. Under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, let us fight to overcome the ideology of all the exploiting classes, develop the new socialist culture and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat!

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 8, 1967.)

Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of
Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

REVOLUTIONARY people throughout China are today ceremoniously commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. This is another important event in our country's political life, following the public release of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the *Talks* our great leader Chairman Mao creatively and with genius developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. For the first time, the *Talks* put forward in the most systematic, complete and incisive way the historic tasks of the proletarian cultural revolution and its supreme guiding principles. This epoch-making, great essay is a beacon that will always illuminate the revolutionary literature and art of China and the whole world. The *Talks* is a programmatic document guiding us in our advance in the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unparalleled in history. Its illustrious ideas inspire hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in their fight to storm the deeply entrenched strongholds of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao states in the *Talks*: "Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics." In another brilliant work, *On New Democracy*, Chairman Mao says: **"As for the new culture, it is the ideological reflection of the new politics and the new economy which it sets out to serve."** Socialist literature and art must serve proletarian politics, the workers, peasants and soldiers and the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

What has been the situation in the literary and art circles of China since the whole country's liberation?

Over the past 17 years, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and the gang

of revisionist chiefs in literary and art circles — including Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han and Chi Yen-ming — whom they shielded and backed, used literature and art as their outpost in their attempt to restore capitalism. While controlling this position, they wildly resisted and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and spread large amounts of feudal, capitalist and revisionist poison, in a vain attempt to confuse people ideologically. By doing so, they were serving bourgeois politics and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and preparing ideological conditions for the overthrow of the socialist system and the restoration of capitalism.

The atmosphere in these literary and art circles controlled by the revisionists has been clogged with stress on the ancient as against the contemporary, with worship of the foreign and scorn for the Chinese, with praise for the dead and contempt for the living. Our literary works, films, dramas and operas, ballads, fine arts, music, dance, etc. are infested with ghosts and monsters, both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign.

Many literary and art works, flagrantly or by innuendo, preach that "treason is justified" and "exploitation is meritorious," disseminate the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and bourgeois reformism, propagate the philosophy of treachery and survival, or even tamper with Party history in order to glorify the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and secure him a place in history.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, over which the revisionists retained control, was "a palace of hell" and the old Ministry of Culture had virtually become a "ministry of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, and scholars and beauties." These organizations and most

of the literary and art associations had countered Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and, by and large, had not carried out the policies of the Party, had failed to serve proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers and had developed a sinister revisionist line, thus exercising dictatorship over the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."

Leadership of the first socialist country in the world, Lenin's birthplace, the Soviet Union, has been usurped by the revisionist clique almost half a century after victory in revolution, and capitalism is being restored there. A major reason for the emergence of this huge historical retrogression is that the Khrushchov revisionist clique first of all carried out ideological work to create ideological confusion among the masses and prepare public opinion for the staging of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état by this handful of big renegades.

This is indeed a painful historical lesson in the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Chairman Mao has studied the entire experience of the history of the Soviet Union, and summed up the experience of China's revolution. In the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao said emphatically that **the whole Party must "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."**

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is an all-round class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the final analysis, this struggle is still a question of political power. The main question to be solved in this struggle is for the proletarian revolutionaries to take back into their hands all the power of leadership, including that in literary and art circles, usurped by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the general orientation of the struggle and we must firmly take hold of it.

All revolutionary cultural, ideological and literary and art workers must take the *Talks* and other

works of Chairman Mao as their compass, firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and actively participate in the mass criticism and repudiation of and mass struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This mass criticism and repudiation must be combined with the criticism and repudiation of the sinister revisionist line on literature and art, and with the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* in their own units. In the literary and art circles, the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries must be brought about and the great majority must be united. Conditions must be created for bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, for truly restoring power to the hands of the proletariat and for building highly proletarianized and revolutionized ranks of literary and art workers. The principle of literature and art serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers must be carried out unswervingly. More model revolutionary theatrical works should be written and staged, and more works should be produced. Chairman Mao's works must be creatively studied and applied so that the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution put forth by Chairman Mao are better understood and grasped, and the great proletarian cultural revolution carried through to the end.

In literature and art and in the ideological sphere, the complete liquidation of the poisonous effects of the exploiting classes over the past several thousand years will take a very long time. After the present sinister revisionist line in literary and art circles is eradicated, new ones will emerge in the future. There have been struggles and there will be more.

We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: **The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.**

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 23*)

* "Struggle-criticism-transformation" is the abbreviation of the tasks set forth in the famous 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the cultural revolution, which states: at present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

The Army Must Pay Great Attention to The Class Struggle on the Literary and Art Front

—Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's
Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

IN the red month of May 25 years ago, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao delivered his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. In this great work Chairman Mao creatively and with genius developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, made a most complete, most comprehensive and most systematic historical summary of the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front and completely solved a series of fundamental questions in the proletarian revolutionary literary and art movement. This great, epoch-making document is a brilliant example of the Marxist-Leninist theory of our era on literature and art, a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Like a powerful beacon, it lights the direction and road of our cultural revolution. Today, celebrating the 25th anniversary of this brilliant work in the new high tide of the dynamic, great proletarian cultural revolution, all commanders and fighters of our army must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, pay great attention to the class struggle on the literary and art front and play an important role in the revolution in culture and art. We must use the *Talks* as our weapon, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the sinister revisionist line on literature and art and its chief backer—the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and courageously and resolutely fight for the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." He also says: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." The orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art. This is the watershed

that divides and differentiates proletarian literature and art from feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art. By serving the workers, peasants and soldiers we mean using literature and art as a weapon to propagate socialist and communist ideology, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to criticize and repudiate feudalism, capitalism and modern revisionism, and to enlighten and educate the people to fight to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry the proletarian revolutionary cause forward and realize the great ideal of communism.

Chairman Mao has been paying the greatest attention to the revolutionary literary and art movement of the proletariat and to the class struggle on the cultural and art front. Over the past 20 years and more, he successively published a number of great works—*On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. In February last year he personally revised the "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching." These important documents of epoch-making significance have prepared for the proletariat and revolutionary people of China the most systematic and most complete theory and the most powerful ideological weapon for waging the class struggle on the cultural and art front. Chairman Mao has himself been leading the army of the proletarian cultural revolution in waging protracted, resolute struggles against reactionary feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideologies, launching powerful attacks and winning one great victory after another. The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has mobilized hundreds of millions of people to carry out a thorough criticism and repudiation of bourgeois ideology; it has opened up a new epoch of the vigorous development of proletarian culture.

During the 17 years since liberation, the class struggle on the literary and art front has been extremely acute, complex and intense. In literary and art circles, there has been a sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist line opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists represented by Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, with the support of their chief backer the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and stubbornly clung to and pushed through the sinister bourgeois, revisionist line on literature and art. Chairman Mao has taught us to portray revolutionary heroes among the workers, peasants and soldiers in a big way whereas they wanted writers to write in a big way about the "middle characters." This actually meant writing about backward characters and their aim was to spread through these backward characters doubt, vacillation and dissatisfaction with socialism. Chairman Mao has taught us to stage dramas on contemporary revolutionary themes, to reflect the life of workers, peasants and soldiers in the heat of the struggle in socialist revolution and socialist construction whereas they wanted to stage ancient and foreign dramas, dramas about ghosts, and to portray emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. Chairman Mao has taught us to sing the praises of the great victories of people's war whereas they opposed "what smells of gunpowder" and wanted to "discard the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought and rebel against the orthodoxy of the people's revolutionary war." Chairman Mao teaches us that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. But they wanted to work for bourgeois liberalization and a "literature and art of the whole people." They did their utmost to spread poisonous feudal, capitalist and revisionist ideas among the Chinese people, propagate the theory of the dying out of class struggle, carry out their revisionist programme in literature and art and foster bourgeois intellectual aristocrats so as to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. The contradiction between us and the sinister revisionist line on literature and art and with its chief backer is an antagonistic one. It is a life-and-death class struggle, a struggle between the bourgeoisie which wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat which fights against it.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." After the seizure of power by the proletariat, the overthrown exploiting classes invariably make use of the old culture and art to corrupt the masses and conquer the minds of the people in order to bring about a capitalist restoration. Our armed forces are not living in a vacuum. The class struggle in society will inevitably be reflected in our armed forces through all kinds of channels. We must never underestimate the influence of the old literature

and art of the exploiting classes on our army. We must never think that the frenzied attack made against us by the handful of revisionists and bourgeois elements in the sphere of literature and art is merely a question of a number of films and bad plays and that they are incapable of accomplishing much. Nor should we think that the struggle on the literary and art front against the sinister line which is opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, concerns only a small number of literary and art workers but does not have much to do with us. If we relax our vigilance against the enemies without guns, if we fail to deal shattering blows to the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front and do not carry out a resolute and protracted struggle in the ideological sphere but allow bourgeois ideas to spread unchecked, then we may be in danger of forfeiting all our achievements—our victories in achieving political power and in the economic fields. Therefore, our armed forces cannot ignore this struggle between right and wrong on the literary and art front that concerns the destiny of our Party and country. Comrade Lin Piao said that the pen and the rifle were the two things we relied on for the seizure of power as well as for its consolidation. He also said that literature and art could play a role comparable to that of the rifle or even one which the rifle could not play. So, with a high sense of political responsibility and great revolutionary enthusiasm, we must pay close attention to the class struggle on the literary and art front and play an important part in the revolution in literature and art.

Since he has been in charge of the Military Commission, Comrade Lin Piao has had a very good grasp of literary and art work and has put out many very important directives. The February, 1966 "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching," using Mao Tse-tung's thought, provided answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution during the period of socialism and placed very high demands on the literary and art work of our army. Comrade Lin Piao said: "Proletarian literature and art are aimed at uniting and educating the people and boosting the fighting morale of the revolutionary people, disintegrating and eliminating the enemy and carrying on the struggle for fostering proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology." We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, in accordance with the directives of the Military Commission and of Comrade Lin Piao, go all out, aim high, do literary and art work in the armed forces earnestly and well and make it exert a still greater influence in giving prominence to politics and promoting the revolutionization of the people's minds.

In executing such tasks as giving support to the Left, to industry and agriculture, in military control, and military training, and in the struggle in participating in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination,

we must, together with the revolutionary Left and the broad revolutionary masses, study and apply Chairman Mao's work creatively and, with the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* as our weapon, launch a fierce attack on the sinister revisionist literary and art line and its chief backer.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, we must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian

politics and socialism. We must study Chairman Mao's works hard, and apply what we have studied. What we have grasped we must put into practice constantly, and always. We must take it as our glorious, life-long fighting task to propagate the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and defend his proletarian revolutionary line. Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and fight for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

(“Jiefangjun Bao” editorial, May 23.)

China's Revolutionary Masses Acclaim Central Committee's Circular

THE publication of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has been warmly acclaimed by the revolutionary masses throughout the country (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967). They hailed this Circular, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, as a sign indicating that Marxism-Leninism has developed to an entirely new stage—the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The publication of this document is an event of great importance in the political life of our country, and in the international communist movement.

An important article entitled “A Great Historic Document” (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967) was jointly published by the Editorial Departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao* on May 18.

The General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army issued on the following day a directive calling on the whole army to study the Circular. The directive says: “The May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, has now been made public. This is a great historic document. It represents the first programme for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao has correctly solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a capitalist restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat—in this great historic document, in a number of great writings and instructions by him, and in the actual practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a brilliant epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism and a new milestone in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. It marks a completely new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism—the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The release of this great historic document, the Circular, to the general public is an event of outstanding importance in the political life of our

country and also in the international communist movement.”

The directive calls on all commanders and fighters in all units in the armed forces to study this document in earnest, taking into consideration the experience gained in the struggle during the past year so as to further arm themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and achieve a better understanding and grasp of the theory, line, principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and to develop in greater depth the mass movement for the criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and thus carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In Peking, revolutionary workers and staff, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary teachers and students, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses of the cultural organizations went to the Party Central Committee to present their messages of congratulations and letters of greetings to Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee, carrying portraits of Chairman Mao, singing songs of Chairman Mao's quotations set to music and beating gongs and drums as they went.

In Shanghai, China's biggest city, Taiyuan in north China, Harbin in the northeast, Tsinan in east China, Kweiyang in the southwest and in other cities, proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses held meetings, parades, and discussions to hail the publication of the May 16 Circular and celebrate the past year's achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Again and again they shouted “Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!” They hailed the glorious, great and correct Communist Party of China and the first anniversary of the establishment of the

Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party Central Committee.

First Programme for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

At Peking University, Sung Yi-hsiu and Chao Cheng-yi, two of the seven who jointly wrote the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country (see *Peking Review*, No. 37, 1966) during the current great cultural revolution, described the Circular as a great programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our big-character poster, they said, was written as a result of the encouragement and guidance of the Circular. Without the Circular, there could never have been this Marxist-Leninist big-character poster and without Mao Tse-tung's thought and support of Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries would have nothing, they said.

Tan Hou-lan, member of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking Normal University, wrote in an article: "This great, Marxist-Leninist document, drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao, has set forth in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and pointed to people throughout the country the triumphant prospects of this cultural revolution. In the Circular, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out: **'Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.'**"

Chairman Mao has pointed out to us that the most dangerous enemy of the proletarian dictatorship is the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, she said. The release of the Circular to the general public has spurred us to push the mass movement of criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to a stage of even greater scope and depth.

Class Struggle Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Is Still a Question of Political Power

In studying the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and "A Great Historic Document," an important article published by the Editorial Departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao*, the revolutionary masses made repeated efforts to grasp this great teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: **The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long his-**

torical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

Wang Hung-wen, a leading member of the Revolutionary Rebellion General Headquarters of Shanghai Workers, said at a forum: "The Circular brilliantly points out that the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when reduced to a single point, is the question of political power. This means that the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. Those who do the greatest harm to the dictatorship of the proletariat are the ones in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into leading Party and government organs and who wave 'red flags' to oppose the red flag. This points out for us the general orientation of struggle. **Chairman Mao has taught us: 'All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power.'** Our struggle to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road fully proved that political power means everything and without it everything is lost. Acting according to this principle, we proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai have united to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, firmly grasped the political, economic and cultural power of the Shanghai municipality in our hands, and established the revolutionary provisional organ of power based on a 'three-in-one' combination—the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's theory of proletarian dictatorship and for the correct orientation of the great proletarian cultural revolution that is pointed out in the Circular."

Wang Tao-ming of an army unit under the Shenyang Command, an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works, published an article entitled "Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Guarantee That Our Country Never Changes Colour." He wrote:

"Historical experience tells us that the question of political power is the fundamental question of revolution in the capitalist countries where the proletariat has not seized power. It is still the fundamental question of revolution in the socialist countries where the proletariat has seized power. The task to consolidate the political power of the proletariat is a more strenuous and an even greater one than that of seizing power.

"We know that in certain countries the proletariat seized political power, repulsed the armed intervention by foreign imperialism, and suppressed the armed rebellion by domestic counter-revolutionaries. However, they failed to solve the question of carrying the revolution through to the end under the dictatorship

of the proletariat. As a result, a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party usurped political power and changed a dictatorship of the proletariat into dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by peaceful evolution.

“The Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal guidance of our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and solved the question of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It not only shattered the scheme of China’s Khrushchov to restore capitalism and provided a reliable guarantee that our Party and country would never change colour, but also pointed out for the proletariat of the world the road of how to consolidate political power and ensure the transition of socialism towards communism after it has seized power.”

Teng Wan-tien, member of the Standing Committee of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and leader of the Zhaili brigade of the Songzhuang Commune in Tunghsien County, wrote in an article that the experience in the class struggle of the past 17 years and the great cultural revolution of the past year showed us that a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road had exercised dictatorship over us, the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The struggle between us and them was a life-and-death struggle. If they were not overthrown our socialist land would have changed colour.

He continued: “After our village was liberated in early 1949, we poor and lower-middle peasants seized power from the landlords. But the landlords and rich

peasants were not reconciled to their defeat and used both hard and soft methods to drag the cadres to their side and become their agents. In the past 17 years, we have experienced five or six struggles for the seizure of power and the counter-seizure of power during political movements ranging from land reform and the ‘four clean-ups’ movement [the socialist education movement to clean things up in politics, ideology, organization and economy] to the current great proletarian cultural revolution. Class struggle has been extremely sharp and complex. The last counter-seizure of power took place in this great cultural revolution. Relying on the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, our brigade’s Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road actively carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, turned right into wrong, stirred up one section of the masses to struggle against another section, organized a White terror, and labelled more than a dozen of us proletarian revolutionaries ‘counter-revolutionaries.’ However, raising the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought high, we are resolute, fear no sacrifice, and are determined to surmount every difficulty. We finally dragged out the brigade’s handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and seized political power back.”

Teng Wan-tien expressed his determination to make great efforts in studying Chairman Mao’s works, and, by following the teachings of Chairman Mao, to never forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and to firmly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

红旗
HONGQI

Grasp the Principal Contradiction, Hold To the General Orientation of Struggle

— Study the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee
Of the Chinese Communist Party

by “HONGQI” COMMENTATOR

DURING the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must grasp the principal contradiction. Only by doing this can we hold firm to the general orientation of the struggle.

What is the principal contradiction in the great proletarian cultural revolution? A clear-cut answer is provided by the great historic document of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

This great historic document, drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, directs the spearhead of struggle against none other than “those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants.” Chairman Mao points out in this document: “Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the

government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." We must thoroughly criticize and repudiate these counter-revolutionary revisionists, clear them out and seize from them the power of leadership which they have usurped. "Our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle."

This means that the principal contradiction we must resolve in the great proletarian cultural revolution is the contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. This contradiction is an antagonistic one, a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves. The general orientation of the struggle in this great proletarian cultural revolution is precisely the resolving of this principal contradiction by directing the spearhead of the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in China and of the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. This is the most outstanding characteristic of the class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production is in the main completed. This is an objective law.

The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and reflect its demands in a concentrated way. They wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They appear as "Party and government leaders," but speak and act on behalf of the bourgeoisie. They use the power of the Party and the state they have usurped to carry out the policies of the bourgeoisie and try by every means to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In short, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party have secretly set up a bourgeois command headed by the Khrushchov of China inside the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, we must concentrate our forces to knock out this bourgeois command and thoroughly criticize and repudiate its counter-revolutionary revisionist wares and completely discredit them. Only by so doing can we eliminate this most serious hidden danger, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure that our country does not change its colour.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that the contradictions between the two classes (the proletariat and

the bourgeoisie) and the two roads (the socialist road and the capitalist road) find concentrated expression in the contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

In 1957, in his brilliant work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao pointed out that **revisionism was even more dangerous than dogmatism**. As regards the domestic scene, the revisionism referred to is mainly the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party.

Chairman Mao pointed out in May 1963 that **in the ranks of our cadres, a number of people failed even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but collaborated with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, and the enemy was pulling our cadres to his side or sneaking into our ranks**. Chairman Mao added that if things were to continue like this, **"it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."** It is those elements within the Party pulled out by the bourgeoisie and those elements of the bourgeoisie who sneaked in who are referred to with emphasis as being the most dangerous.

In July 1964 when Chairman Mao spoke of the question of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, he put forward **the question of preventing "the emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism in China."** And he said that the first requirement for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat was that **"they must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism."**

In January 1965 Chairman Mao pointed out in "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas"* that **"the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road."**

In the past few years, Chairman Mao has pointed out on many occasions: **Be on guard against the emergence of revisionism, especially against the emergence of revisionism in the Central Committee of our Party.**

After several years of preparation, Chairman Mao personally initiated the great proletarian cultural rev-

*Summary minutes of discussion at the National Working Conference called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, known as the 23-article document.—Tr.

olution and is leading it himself. The main aim of this great revolution is precisely to overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, especially the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This means grasping the principal contradiction after analyzing all the intertwining contradictions in China at the present stage.

In studying the Circular in the light of the new situation in the present struggle and the practice of the revolution over the past year, the basic requirement is to take hold of the principal contradiction and keep to the orientation of the struggle firmly and unswervingly. We must not divert our sight to all sorts of secondary contradictions, and thus shift the general orientation of the struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved. This is the method Marx taught us in his study of capitalist society. Likewise Lenin and Stalin taught us this method when they studied imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism and when they studied the Soviet economy. There are thousands of scholars and men of action who do not understand it, and the result is that, lost in a fog, they are unable to get to the heart of a problem and naturally cannot find a way to resolve its contradictions."** In the great proletarian cultural revolution, when class relations are undergoing radical change, it is all the more imperative to pay attention at all times to grasping the principal contradiction.

Only by taking hold of the principal contradiction, can we expand and strengthen the ranks of the Left, unite with the masses of people and cadres, form revolutionary great alliances and isolate to the maximum the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. We must concentrate all our forces on resolving this principal contradiction, thoroughly criticize and repudiate, politically, ideologically and theoretically, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and eliminate the pernicious influence they have spread on all fronts.

Contradictions also exist among different mass organizations of the Left. These are contradictions between right and wrong within the forces of the Left. In some cases, on a given question one side is right and the other side wrong. In other cases, on a given question one side has more errors than the other side. In still other cases one side is right on one question and wrong on another, while it is just the opposite with the other side. In all the above cases, there are differences in principle. However, these contradictions between them are secondary and they have the same general orientation since the Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are their common opponents. Once they clearly discern their chief enemy and take hold of the principal contradiction, the mass organiza-

tions of the Left will be able to handle and resolve the contradictions between them correctly and in dealing with each other will refrain from using the methods for handling contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Differences between mass organizations of the Left should be resolved by the method of criticism and self-criticism. Controversies between the two sides can be settled by consultation. On secondary issues which cannot be solved for the time being, both sides should seek common ground while reserving their differences and join in fighting the enemy. This cannot be called lack of principle, nor blurring the line between right and wrong, or eclecticism or conciliation, but is a correct practice aimed at forging the revolutionary great alliance and a manifestation of the principled attitude of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. On the contrary, if organizations of the Left hold fast to the controversial points, regard minor issues as more important than anything else and zestfully engage in internal feuds, thereby relaxing the struggle against those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, this is precisely a lack of principle, a noxious manifestation of the small group mentality, the mountain-stronghold mentality and anarchism.

The relations between mass organizations of the Left and those of the masses who, due to lack of a correct understanding, joined conservative organizations, represent contradictions among the people, not contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. As long as we grasp the principal contradiction and recognize who our chief enemy is, we will understand that the misled masses in the conservative organizations are also victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. They are our class brothers. We should patiently teach them to break with the villains who have been controlling them from behind the scenes and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In order to isolate to the maximum and deal mortal blows to the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we must take pains to do political and ideological work to help those who do not have a correct understanding. On this question, **we should always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings on placing trust in the masses. We should carry out his instructions that the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind; that without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself.** The mistake committed by those of the masses who have been deceived into joining conservative organizations is a matter of understanding. We should help them to emancipate their minds and get rid of their mental burdens. We should deal with them by persuasion only, not by coercion, insults or attacks in reprisal. We should welcome them if they withdraw from the conservative organizations and join the revolutionary organizations. We should not discriminate against them but treat them correctly in accordance with the principle that "early or late, all who make revolution merit equal treatment." If they want to keep their original organization but rise in revolt collectively, change their political orientation,

turn about and direct their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, we should also welcome them and not discriminate against them. This is not Right opportunism, nor capitulationism, but the correct principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. It will benefit the proletariat, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the successful accomplishment of the great historic task of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Only by acting in this way can we unite with the overwhelming majority of the masses and make ourselves invincible. Any contrary attitude will serve the interests of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

On the other hand, the masses who have joined conservative organizations should be strict with themselves, recognize what the principal contradiction is, distinguish comrades from the enemy, take firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle and direct

their attack against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Since they have made mistakes, they should acknowledge and correct them. Once they have corrected them, all is well. They should not give themselves over to blind emotions or they will remain disorientated. They must heighten their vigilance and guard against being instigated by villains.

In studying the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, we should link our study with reality, take firm hold of the problems currently in people's minds and carry out a rectification campaign. We should recognize more clearly what the principal contradiction is, grasp the general orientation of the struggle better and, in particular, concentrate our forces on thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

(*"Hongqi,"* No. 7, 1967.)

解放軍報

JIEFANGJUN BAO

Never Forget Political Power

THE May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao has been made known to the general public. This is an important event in the political life of China's 700 million people and in the international communist movement. We warmly acclaim the publication of this great historic document!

This Circular is the first programme for China's great proletarian cultural revolution. In this great historic document, in his series of great works and instructions and in the most significant practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by him, Chairman Mao has correctly solved, both in theory and practice, the problem of carrying on the revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a brilliant, epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism. It is a new milestone in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, indicating that Marxism-Leninism has entered an entirely new stage—the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Over the past few years, Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us that the issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period, and that if things are not properly handled, it is

possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. In this document of great historic significance, Chairman Mao clearly points out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

These instructions of Chairman Mao clearly tell us that the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, will be long, complex and acute throughout the period of socialism. This struggle is focused on the question of political power. After the proletariat has seized political power, it is still possible for it to lose it. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are the most dangerous enemies that have wormed their way into our vital organs. We want to consolidate our political power, whereas they want to usurp our political power. This is an antagonistic contradiction, a life-and-death struggle. Only by practising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and by broadly mobilizing the masses from below, is it possible constantly to rid our ranks of the counter-revolutionary revisionists and, in struggle, enhance the conscious will of

the masses to prevent and oppose revisionism. Only in this way, can the political power of the proletariat be consolidated and made secure.

Comrade Lin Piao has told us that with political power, the proletariat and the working people will have everything and without political power, they will lose everything. No matter how numerous the issues are, we must never forget political power. Forgetting political power means forgetting the fundamental Marxist viewpoint. If we do so, we will be muddle-headed fools not even knowing, when we are killed, how it happened.

In the 17 years since China's liberation, there has been an extremely acute struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the seizure of power and the counter-seizure of power. The many startling facts which have been brought to light in the great proletarian cultural revolution show that the Khrushchov of China is nestling beside us and that, under his protection, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road had quietly usurped our power in a number of places and departments. Opposing the red flag by waving "red flags" and putting out the signboard of the dictatorship of the proletariat, these villains actually exercised a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over us. They used that part of political power they had usurped to work feverishly for the restoration of capitalism and vainly attempted to seize political power throughout China and change the political colour of our country. The revolutionary masses have now exposed the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and one by one unmasked the persons like Khrushchov, big and small. This is the most important victory won in the great proletarian cultural revolution during the past year.

Our army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to usurp the political power of the proletariat, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have to work in collusion with the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the army in order to usurp the military power of the proletariat. Another chieftain of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique is a counter-revolutionary revisionist who usurped an important position of leadership in military affairs. He is a schemer and careerist who is opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. He opposes Chairman Mao's military line and the instructions to give prominence to politics and other instructions by Comrade Lin Piao, and stubbornly pursued a bourgeois military line. He colluded with the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, formed cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, and carried out insidious activities to usurp military power and oppose the Party in a vain attempt to seize political power and restore capitalism once conditions were ripe. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thought, we quickly saw through this double-dealing counter-revolutionary, stripped him of his mask and smashed his conspiracy to usurp military power and

oppose the Party. This was the first major victory for our army in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also a big victory in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. Facts have proved, once again, that no matter who the class enemy may be, his plots to usurp military power and oppose the Party can never succeed and he will run his head up against a brick wall. The great people's army, created by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself and put under the direct leadership of deputy supreme commander Lin Piao, his close comrade-in-arms, is an army with a high level of political consciousness and boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao.

Our army is the most important instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without a people's army, the dictatorship of the proletariat is out of the question. Our comrades in the army must keep their proletarian class vigilance high. We must not let counter-revolutionary revisionists, bourgeois conspirators and careerists usurp the leadership of any department or unit of our army. The people's rifles must always be in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries loyal to Chairman Mao and to his thought.

Our comrades in the army must pay attention to state affairs and never forget the question of political power. We must not only be ready at any moment to crush open attempts by external enemies to seize our political power by force, but also be keenly alert against insidious attempts by persons in authority taking the capitalist road to snatch our political power from within. In those places where power has been lost, we must join the broad revolutionary masses, resolutely recapture it from those in authority taking the capitalist road and help the proletarian revolutionaries to retain it and wield it well.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the present great cultural revolution is only the first—there will inevitably be many more in the future, that it should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four, and that we must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance. We must engrave this instruction of Chairman Mao's in our minds and fully understand the protracted nature of class struggle in the period of socialism, the protracted nature of the struggle that goes on, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for and against the restoration of capitalism.

All comrades in our army should respond with enthusiasm to the call of the Central Committee of the Party, earnestly study the Circular, which is a document of great historic significance, acquire a better understanding of Chairman Mao's theory and practice concerning the making of revolution and the prevention of a capitalist restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and his theory, line, principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution, carry for-

ward the proletarian spirit of uninterrupted revolution, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution and the socialist revolution through to the end and ensure

that our proletarian state will never change its political colour.

(“Jiefangjun Bao” editorial, May 20.)

Foreign Ministry Statement

China Indignantly Denounces U.S. Imperialism's Crime of Bombing Hanoi

May 21, 1967

U.S. pirate planes have recently carried out successive bombings of the city of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and especially two wanton bombings of the city areas of Hanoi on May 19, thus committing monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people. The Chinese Government and people indignantly denounce U.S. imperialism for its pirate acts and firmly support the just stand of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as expressed in its statement of May 19.

The heroic people of Hanoi have dealt a head-on blow to the invading U.S. planes by shooting down 10 U.S. pirate planes on May 19 alone and capturing a group of U.S. air pirates. The Chinese people warmly hail this splendid victory of the Vietnamese people.

At present, the situation of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression is excellent. The south Vietnamese people have smashed the “dry-season offensive” and “pacification plan” of U.S. imperialism and launched a powerful offensive against the U.S. aggressor troops, winning one important victory after another. The Vietnamese people hold the initiative in the war firmly in their hands while the U.S. aggressor troops, passive and receiving blows everywhere, are in a very awkward predicament. **Chairman Mao teaches us: “The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch.”** The successive bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism indicate not its strength, but its weakness.

By stepping up its acts of war “escalation” against northern Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is trying to save itself from defeat in southern Vietnam. However, the United States will never succeed in this attempt. As has been pointed out in the statement of the Foreign

Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the more the United States frenziedly broadens its war, the deeper will be the Vietnamese people's hatred for the U.S. aggressors and the Vietnamese people will in any circumstances resolutely fight till complete victory. In wildly expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism, like a mad bull crashing into a ring of flames, will eventually be burned to death by the flames of people's war in Vietnam.

People have taken note of the fact that while U.S. imperialism is expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and wantonly bombing Hanoi, Washington, Moscow and London are engaged in a dirty deal. British Foreign Secretary George Brown will visit Moscow on May 23, the very day the “Buddha's birthday” truce takes place in Vietnam, vainly attempting to restage the farce performed during the Spring Festival this year by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union which worked in collusion to bring about “peace talks” by applying pressure on Vietnam. But, as U.S. imperialism has suffered ignominious defeats on the battlefield, this political scheme, too, will meet with failure.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms as closely related to each other as lips and teeth. We must warn U.S. imperialism: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people have long been prepared against U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression. The Chinese people are determined to carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end. They are likewise determined to support and aid the fraternal Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Vietnamese people will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors completely and win final victory.

China Will Take Necessary Action to Support Vietnam Against The U.S. According to the Need of the Vietnamese Government and People

Foreign Minister Chen Yi on May 22 received Le Chung Thuy, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Vietnamese Embassy in Peking, who handed him the May 21 statement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the sending of large numbers of U.S. and puppet troops into the demilitarized zone in Vietnam by the United States. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed the following view to the Charge d'Affaires ad interim:

The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in its May 21 statement. While continuously and wantonly bombing Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, U.S. imperialism also brazenly sends ground forces to invade the demilitarized zone. This

is a grave war "escalation," an adventurous act of expanding the war and a last-ditch struggle by U.S. imperialism after suffering disastrous defeats in its war of aggression against Vietnam. The Chinese Government and the 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought will closely follow developments in the situation in Vietnam and will be ready at all times to take the necessary action, according to the need of the Vietnamese Government and people, to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. As has been pointed out in the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's statement, the Johnson government must be held fully responsible for all the serious consequences arising from its adventurous actions.

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Keeping a Close Watch on Development Of the Vietnam Situation

RECENTLY U.S. imperialism has frenziedly stepped up its military adventure in Vietnam. Simultaneously with the U.S. bandit planes' continuous and wanton bombing of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam have flagrantly invaded the demilitarized zone on a large scale. This is an extremely grave step taken by the U.S. aggressors to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam.

The Chinese people sternly condemn this crime of frantic aggression committed by U.S. imperialism, resolutely support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and are keeping a close watch on the development of the Vietnam situation.

In the wake of the sinister meeting in Guam, U.S. imperialism has successively carried out a series of "escalation" activities in its war of aggression against Vietnam. The U.S. press has disclosed that the Johnson Administration has decided to extend the ground war to areas beyond the southern part of Vietnam. The massive invasion of the demilitarized zone by the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam is a danger signal that U.S.

imperialism is going to invade north Vietnam and spread the flames of the war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China.

A U.S. State Department spokesman openly clamoured that the U.S. aggressor troops' invasion of the demilitarized zone was a "purely defensive step" and that it was a "legitimate right" of the United States. This is a gangster's logic, pure and simple. You have sent hundreds of thousands of aggressor troops to invade the territory of Vietnam, have fought several years of aggressive war and have step by step expanded the war. Can this be called "defensive"? You long ago ripped the Geneva agreements into shreds and broke the bounds of the 17th Parallel and you are now unscrupulously invading the demilitarized zone. Can this be called a "legitimate right"? This shameless sophistry cannot in the least cover up your crime of expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam, nor can it save you from severe punishment at the hands of the 31 million Vietnamese people.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has again served as a shameful accomplice to U.S. imperialism's

criminal acts to expand its war of aggression. Not long ago, it raked together a meeting of Europe's new scabs, making great efforts for a "European detente" and egging on the United States to transfer its troops from Europe to the Vietnam battlefield. At the very time the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam moved into the demilitarized zone, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique once more teamed up with the British Labour Government and acted in co-ordination with the U.S. move, vainly hoping to restage the farce performed during the Spring Festival this year by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union which worked in collusion to force "peace talks" on Vietnam. In serving U.S. imperialism so energetically, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has completely exposed themselves as big traitors who are selling out the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces." In the midst of all its difficulties, U.S. imperialism's frenzied expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam with the support of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a death-bed struggle. At present, the situation of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is excellent. The U.S. aggressor troops' "dry-season offensive" and "pacification plan" have been successively badly defeated. The Johnson Administration is beset with difficulties at home and abroad and has no way out. The U.S. aggressors' vain hope of finding a way out by stepping up its military adventure is but the desperate act of a cornered beast.

On the south Vietnam battlefield where the U.S. aggressors pitted themselves against the 14 million south Vietnamese people, they have already been badly battered. If they dare expand the ground war to north Vietnam and the whole of Indo-China, they will be smashed to smithereens even faster by the crushing blows from the iron fists of the 31 million people of Vietnam and the peoples of the various countries in Indo-China.

The Chinese people have always regarded supporting the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation as their sacred internationalist duty. They will not flinch from maximum national sacrifices to support their Vietnamese brothers to defeat the U.S. aggressors completely. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people are ready at any time to take all necessary actions in accordance with the need of the Vietnamese Government and people. The Chinese people have always meant what they say. To whatever rung U.S. imperialism "escalates" the war and to whatever extent it expands the flames of war, the Chinese people are determined to support the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to the very end. The Chinese people are certainly not afraid of braving any storm or danger and are certainly not afraid of paying the price however high it may be. They are determined to make, together with the heroic Vietnamese people, their contribution to defeating the U.S. aggressors completely!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 23.)

Chinese People Condemn Outrages by British Authorities in Hongkong

IN the week beginning May 15 over one million revolutionary people in Peking and friends from over 20 countries and regions who reside in Peking, flocked to the front of the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires in China to take part in angry demonstrations, which reached their height on the evening of May 17. The walls of the Office were plastered with big-character posters, slogans in bold letters, protests and cartoons denouncing the British authorities in Hongkong for their fascist atrocities and brutal attacks on Chinese compatriots in Hongkong. Mass demonstrations took place too in Shanghai, Harbin, Kweiyang, Lhasa and Kwangchow.

While demonstrations by thousands of revolutionary people continued unabated on May 18, another 100,000 people assembled in the Peking Workers' Stadium to

make it known that the Chinese people, determined to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, pledge to give their patriotic compatriots in Hongkong their powerful backing, and to carry through this struggle against British imperialism's fascist persecution to the end.

The meeting was attended by Premier Chou En-lai; Chen Po-ta, leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Vice-Premier Chen Yi; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and leading comrades of various departments.

Present at the rally were N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cey-

lon, and his wife; Stephane Struelens, Member of the Political Bureau, Michel Graindorge, Member of the Central Committee, of the Belgian Communist Party; Frank Johnson, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife; Djawoto, Secretary General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Robert Williams, Afro-American leader; Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to the People's Republic of China; Bhayom Chulanond, Representative of the Thailand Patriotic Front; P.V. Sarma, Chief Representative of the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in the People's Republic of China; Rashid Said Gerbou, Representative of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking; Vangjel Moisiu and Myfit Mushi of Albania; Rewi Alley of New Zealand; Junichiro Ide of Japan; and proletarian fighters and anti-imperialist revolutionaries from many countries who are now in Peking.

Militant and full of vigour, the fighting revolutionary masses at the rally, holding up portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao and red flags which fluttered in the breeze, sang revolutionary song after revolutionary song and, opening their brightly red *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, repeatedly read the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching on "all reactionaries are paper tigers."

After the meeting was opened by Nieh Yuan-tzu, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, a military band struck up *The East Is Red* after which the 100,000 present recited quotations from Chairman Mao together.

Hsieh Fu-chih, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, was the first to address the rally.

Where there is exploitation and oppression, he said, there is resistance. Prior to the incident at the Sanpokong Artificial Flower Works (see *Peking Review*, No. 21, 1967), there had already been many workers' struggles against the capitalists in Hongkong which ended in victories for the Chinese workers who had persisted in their struggles. But the British authorities there, not reconciled to their defeat, have attempted to quench the newly lit raging flames of the working-class struggle and put down the rising workers' movement. They have thus committed this latest savage fascist outrage.

Exposing the fact that the British authorities in Hongkong this time have connived with and used large numbers of secret agents of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and under-world elements as their pawns to persecute patriotic Chinese compatriots there, Hsieh Fu-chih noted that this was not at all fortuitous. He recalled how for many years British imperialism has allowed the Chiang gang's secret agents to use Hongkong as their base for sneaking into the mainland and carrying out harassment and sabotage. Moreover, the British authorities there have flagrantly given Chiang Kai-

Most Vehement Protest Against Brown's Slanders

Vice-Foreign Minister Lo Kuei-po summoned D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires to China, at five-thirty p.m. on May 22 and lodged a most vehement protest against the British Foreign Secretary's slanders about China's revolutionary masses, while announcing the Chinese Government's decision to annul the arrangement by which the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires posted personnel in Shanghai.

The Vice-Foreign Minister first pointed out that the continued series of out-and-out fascist atrocities by the British authorities in Hongkong since the Chinese Foreign Ministry published its statement on May 15 are absolutely intolerable.

He stressed: "On May 19, when the British Foreign Secretary, Brown, received the Chinese Charge d'Affaires a.i., Mr. Shen Ping, he took an extremely arrogant, unreasonable and rude attitude and used shameful imperialist language in unrestrainedly slandering the Chinese revolutionary masses. We express the strongest indignation and lodge the strongest protest against this."

Vice-Minister Lo declared in conclusion: "Because the British Government has taken a hostile attitude towards the Chinese people, and especially because the British authorities in Hongkong have perpetrated sanguinary atrocities against Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong, the arrangement made in 1954, in which the Chinese Government, out of consideration for the request of the British Government, agreed to the British Charge d'Affaires' Office posting personnel in Shanghai in charge of the affairs of British nationals there, has now entirely lost its original meaning." Therefore, he said, the Chinese Government has decided to annul this arrangement and demands that Mr. P.M. Hewitt leave Shanghai within 48 hours.

Lo Kuei-po also solemnly demanded that the British Government immediately stop its persecution of Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and quickly reply to the five-point demand put forward in the statement of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

shek's men permission to engage in wild activities for "two Chinas." "All this," Hsieh Fu-chih warned, "is what the Chinese people can in no way tolerate!"

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih then went on to expose the shameful feature of the British Labour Government as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, as well as its criminal deeds in Hongkong and elsewhere of making counter-revolutionary trouble against China. But, Hsieh Fu-chih pointed out, what they do likewise will not, as Chairman Mao has put it, run counter to the imperialist logic of "make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom."

Hsieh Fu-chih cited numerous facts to show how "the British imperialists fear Mao Tse-tung's thought like a rat fears the sunlight." He declared: "All activities carried out by our compatriots in Hongkong in studying, propagating, applying and defend-

ing Mao Tse-tung's thought are their absolute, sacred and inviolable right. There is no ground whatsoever for the British authorities in Hongkong to interfere. The brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung will certainly illuminate the whole world. Whoever attempts to restrict the irresistible influence of Mao Tse-tung's thought will inevitably end up by getting badly battered."

Representatives of the capital's workers, peasants, the People's Liberation Army and Red Guards also spoke. At its conclusion, the rally sent a message of sympathy and concern for the patriotic compatriots in Hongkong.

Fascist Suppression Is Mounting, So Is the Struggle Against Persecution

At this moment, the British authorities in Hongkong, just as Hsieh Fu-chih pointed out at the Peking rally, instead of openly making apologies and accepting the demands put forward in the Chinese Foreign Ministry statement (see our last issue), are, on the one hand, mustering troops and police and colluding with U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek secret agents in preparation for persecution and suppression on a still larger scale, and on the other hand, they are using all kinds of counter-revolutionary dual tactics — both soft and tough, threats and deception, dividing people, and using material lures. Their vain attempt is to put out the raging flames of the just struggle of our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong.

David Trench, "governor of Hongkong," has continually refused to meet representatives of over 60 units, including trade unions, schools, the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency, the press, film studios and banking and commercial firms. The angry crowds had to paste their messages of protest, written in bold Chinese characters, on the iron gate and walls of the "governor's house." When Trench refused to meet the 17 representatives of the Committee of Hongkong-Kowloon Compatriots for Struggle Against British Persecution in Hongkong for the second time, Yang Kuang, Chairman of the Council of the Hongkong-Kowloon Federation of Trade Unions, made a press statement on the spot. He pointed out that what the British authorities meant by "maintenance of peace and order" was further fascist suppression. These authorities, he added, meant to set themselves against the four million Chinese in Hongkong and the 700 million great Chinese people. But, as Chairman Mao has taught us: "... **it is impossible to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries to show kindness of heart and turn from their evil ways. The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them. . . .**" We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions, strengthen unity, persevere in struggle and carry this struggle against persecution through to the end, declared Yang Kuang.

The Hongkong British authorities have greatly escalated their fascist suppression of the Chinese compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon and the struggle

of the Chinese compatriots against persecution has escalated in response.

On May 17, the "riot police" of the British authorities in Hongkong again wantonly beat up and arrested en masse Chinese residents who had gathered on Nathan Road in Kowloon to protest against the Hongkong British "court" for illegally trying innocent Chinese compatriots. Wooden pellets and tear gas bombs were fired at them. The British police on many occasions attacked newsmen of the Hsinhua News Agency Hongkong Branch and of the Hongkong *Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Hui Pao*. At two o'clock in the morning of May 16, they deliberately carried out provocations against Hsinhua's Hongkong Branch by detaining and insulting staff members near the agency's office.

On the morning of May 21, large numbers of "riot police" attacked Hongkong tram workers who were pasting on the tram cars posters declaring their determination to struggle against persecution and their devotion to the great leader Chairman Mao. These workers who have a 60-year-old anti-imperialist tradition fought back valiantly in self-defence. At about one in the afternoon "riot police" at Garden Road launched a surprise attack on the people marching to the "governor's house" to protest. That day the Chinese compatriots again shed their blood in the streets and at least 44 people were arrested.

The following morning, some four or five hundred "riot police" charged into a group of more than 150 unarmed representatives of publishing, commercial and banking circles who were on their way to lodge their protests at the "governor's house" and lashed out fiercely with batons at their heads and the lower parts of their bodies. All the representatives were seriously injured. Many people suffered head injuries and dozens of them were so badly hurt that they lost consciousness. Blood soaked their clothes red and it also bathed in red the soil of their motherland — the streets of Hongkong. Among them were more than a dozen women workers of a patriotic bookstore in Hongkong and Kowloon who have always stood at the forefront in spreading Mao Tse-tung's thought. Each one of them was surrounded by three ruffians and brutally beaten up.

Throughout the time they were being brutally beaten, the delegates held aloft their brightly red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, sang quotations that had been set to music and shouted anti-imperialist and anti-revisionsist slogans. A young delegate was assailed on the head with blows from the police batons of 15 ruffians. He kept his fist raised and shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" right to the moment he was beaten unconscious. These ruffians also shouted that "all Left-wing correspondents are to be beaten up too." They knocked into unconsciousness the Hongkong *Economic Bulletin* correspondent Hsu Yun-cheng who was covering the incident because he had shouted as loud as he could after he had been struck: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!"

On the same day, in front of the "magistrates" in north and south Kowloon and in the Causeway Bay area, many workers and students who went there to protest the illegal and secret interrogation of the arrested Chinese compatriots were attacked with tear gas and beaten up.

White terror reigned in Hongkong from dawn till late in the night. One of the workers was beaten to death. One of the staff members guarding the gate of our Bank of Communications was shot in the chest by ruffians who attacked the bank; his life is now in danger. In addition, a large number of police and special agents surrounded the Hongkong branch of the Bank of China. According to preliminary estimates, no fewer than 200 compatriots were killed and wounded that day, not counting many others who received light wounds. According to greatly minimized figures released by the Hongkong British authorities, 363 of the personnel of Chinese organizations in Hongkong and compatriots were unwarrantedly arrested on May 22, nearly 200 of them being secretly arrested late in the night.

Compatriots in Hongkong have pointed out that the bloody May 22 incident took place the day after the British Government sent Arthur Galswothy, Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Office, and others to Hongkong to "discuss" with "governor" David Trench "the present situation in Hongkong." The British Government and the authorities in Hongkong cannot shirk their responsibilities for the crimes committed against the Chinese.

At the time when the Hongkong British authorities carried out their bloody massacre, guns were set up at the U.S. "consulate" nearby to threaten our compatriots and abet the fascist hooligans in the service of the British authorities in Hongkong.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "All reactionaries attempt to stamp out revolution by mass murder and they think that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But, contrary to this wishful thinking of reaction, the facts are that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution becomes and the nearer the reactionaries are to their doom. This is an irresistible law."

Since the blood-bath on Garden Road, an increasing number of compatriots, holding high *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and wearing Chairman Mao badges, shouting slogans and singing revolutionary songs, have streamed to the "governor's house" to express their protest, defying the enemy's rifles and breaking through blockades put up by the enemy. Transport workers drove their cars to the middle of the roads to block the way of the police cars and protect the demonstrators. Our compatriots have pasted quotations from Chairman Mao and big-character posters all over the walls of the "governor's house" and many British

Strong Protest Against Political Provocation by British Merchant Seamen

G. Eckford and D.I. Twitchen, crew members of the British merchant ship *s.s. Lord Gladstone* anchored in the Chinese port of Talien, on May 7 and 15 insulted portraits of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. They also wrote a reactionary slogan "Long live the U.S." on board the ship. These extremely grave acts of political provocation and hostility towards China have aroused tremendous indignation among the Chinese people.

The Chinese authorities concerned have detained the culprits in accordance with law, and announced that the British captain of the ship, E.C. Marsden, who connived in these incidents, was forbidden to call at any Chinese port in the future.

These political provocations by British crew members are inseparable from the British Government's hostile attitude all along towards the Chinese people. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed a note of strong protest to the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires to China on May 19.

undertakings and other places throughout Hongkong and Kowloon.

At noon on May 22, the tram workers in Hongkong stopped work to express their protest, and they succeeded in foiling the enemy's attempts to suppress them. Beginning May 23, all the bus workers in Hongkong and Kowloon stopped work. All the 3,000 workers at the Butterfield and Swire docks stopped work for an hour, while the students of the Peihua Middle School suspended classes for an hour to express their protest.

Patriotism Is No Crime, Resistance Against Violence Is Justified

Meanwhile, angry shouts of "patriotism is no crime, resistance against violence is justified" are resounding over Hongkong. On May 19, 700 representatives from all walks of life held a meeting which indicted the British authorities for their crimes and honoured the 80-odd victims of the flower works. Some victims came still bandaged; one was brought in on a stretcher. They told the meeting how, in defiance of the enemy's blows, they had persisted on studying Chairman Mao's works in their prison cells. Never before have our patriotic compatriots there been so confident. As a group of students wrote to the Hongkong *Wen Hui Pao*: "With Chairman Mao to back us, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as our weapon, we can certainly foil U.S. imperialism and its accomplice British imperialism! Let there be no mistake that the golden light of the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought will shine in all its splendour over Hongkong and Kowloon as never before!"

"RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

Like Master, Like Disciple

Unmitigated fascist outrages were committed in Paris on May 5 by a gang of hooligans sent by the French revisionist Rochet group to savagely attack and wreck a mass meeting sponsored by the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist). The rally was a demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese people who are fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The French revisionist group calls itself "Marxist-Leninists." But its members heaped abuse on and publicly tore up portraits of the great revolutionary leaders Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung which hung over the rostrum. They also had the effrontery to destroy copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. This shows that they are dyed-in-the-wool renegades from Marxism-Leninism who are mortally afraid of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The French revisionist group calls itself "Communists." But its members frenziedly pulled down streamers bearing the words: "Proletariat of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" This shows that, while parading as Communists, they are actually scabs and enemies of the revolutionary Communist Parties.

The French revisionists call themselves friends of the Vietnamese people and pretend to support their struggle. But they had to resort to such brutal means to sabotage a mass rally held for the purpose of making common cause with the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This exposes them completely as despicable accomplices of U.S. imperialism.

There is nothing original about this fascist performance by the French revisionists who were only taking a leaf out of the Soviet revisionists' book. Like master, like disciple. In today's Soviet Union under revisionist rule, it is common for the army, the police and secret service agents to use open violence against the people. Small wonder that the big and small flunkies following the Soviet revisionists' baton should have followed their master's example. Didn't the revisionists of the Japanese Communist Party behave in the same way only some time ago? The recent outrages committed by the French revisionists were nothing but a Paris edition of the suppression by the Soviet revisionists of the Asian, African and Latin American students who demonstrated in support of Vietnam in Moscow. The only difference is that while the Soviet revisionists use the state apparatus under their control to exercise fascist dictatorship, their opposite numbers in France and elsewhere have to beg for help from the state apparatus controlled by the bourgeoisie, i.e., to go about their fascist atrocities in collaboration with the reactionary police. The fact that both the Soviet and French revisionists have to

use fascist violence against the revolutionary forces and people eloquently proves that these renegades and scabs are reactionary and cowardly in the extreme. How else can one explain this?

If the modern revisionists think that Marxist-Leninists can be cowed by such fascist violence, they are just day-dreaming. All proletarian revolutionary fighters, all Marxist-Leninists worthy of the name are fearless. They are fearless before imperialism, let alone its accomplices. **"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards, and wild bears can never daunt the brave."** There is no doubt that the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and all French Marxist-Leninists will raise the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism still higher, conduct the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism still more resolutely, carry the French people's revolutionary cause further ahead, and make still greater contributions to the common cause of the international proletariat.

(May 10)

Two of a Kind

The Suharto Right-wing military regime in Indonesia is throwing itself into the lap of U.S. imperialism and at the same time rabidly attacking communism, China and the people. It is at this point that the ruling Soviet revisionist clique has seen fit to rush up with a string of compliments for this fascist junta.

In its April 26 issue, the Soviet weekly, *New Times*, prattled at length about the arrogance of Indonesia's "ultra-Right political groups" and the attacks and threats they hurl at the Suharto regime. If this article is to be believed, only the Masjumi Party and the Socialist Party constitute the "most reactionary forces" in Indonesia, whereas the Suharto military set-up is really inflexible in the "anti-imperialist struggle" and "non-alignment policy." The author even tried, though in a roundabout way, to whitewash the Suharto regime, exonerating it of its crime in butchering Communists and patriots and selling out national interests to imperialism and other such traitorous acts, and ascribing all this to the pressure of the "ultra-Right political groups." The author has taken great pains to make the point!

It is known to all that the Suharto Right-wing military regime and the Masjumi Party and its kind are out-and-out reactionaries and running dogs of imperialism. The only difference, if any, between them is that one group is the new running dogs and in power whereas the other is the old running dogs and out of power. The slight contradiction between them, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said of the contradictions among the Chinese reactionaries, is **"merely a particularly interesting example of a fight between large**

and small dogs, between well-fed and ill-fed dogs." In Indonesia today, it is the Suharto gang of new running dogs that is in power, a gang fostered by U.S. imperialism and faithfully serving it. By dwelling at length on the "ultra-Rightists," the ruling Soviet revisionist clique merely aims at prettifying the Suharto gang of fascists in an attempt to help them maintain their tottering reactionary rule by dressing them up as a "sensible" group among the reactionaries so as to mislead the people of Indonesia and other countries about the Suharto regime.

This Soviet revisionist tactic is meant not only to render service to U.S. imperialism and the Indonesian reactionaries but it is also designed to cover up their own criminal ganging up with the Indonesian reac-

tionaries. Are they not justified in supporting the Suharto regime, since it is neither the "most reactionary force" nor an imperialist flunkey but a "hero" which persists in "combating imperialism" and in "non-alignment"? Are they not justified in giving the Suharto regime still greater support since it is confronted by the grave threat of a seizure of power by the "ultra-Rightists"?

But the Suharto regime has long been fully exposed as a counter-revolutionary lot. The harder the Soviet revisionists try to whitewash it, the clearer it becomes that they and the Indonesian reactionaries are birds of a feather.

(May 17)

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10, No. 22

May 26, 1967

Published in English, French, Spanish,

Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

—Mao Tse-tung 5

Greeting the World's Advance Into the Great New
Epoch of Mao Tse-tung's Thought 18

Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Chairman
Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and
Art" — Chen Po-ta 20

Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on
Literature and Art" Is a Programme for Building
a Mighty, Proletarian Cultural Army — Chi Pen-yu 24

Message of Salute to Chairman Mao 32

Fight to Safeguard the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
— Hongqi editorial 34

Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural
Revolution — Renmin Ribao editorial 37

The Army Must Pay Great Attention to the Class
Struggle on the Literary and Art Front — Jiefang-
jun Bao editorial 39

China's Revolutionary Masses Acclaim Central Com-
mittee's Circular 41

Grasp the Principal Contradiction, Hold to the
General Orientation of Struggle — Hongqi Com-
mentator 43

Never Forget Political Power — Jiefangjun Bao
editorial 46

Foreign Ministry Statement: China Indignantly De-
nounces U.S. Imperialism's Crime of Bombing
Hanoi 48

China Will Take Necessary Action to Support Viet-
nam Against the U.S. According to the Need of
the Vietnamese Government and People 49

Keeping a Close Watch on Development of the Viet-
nam Situation — Renmin Ribao editorial 49

Chinese People Condemn Outrages by British
Authorities in Hongkong 50

"Renmin Ribao" Commentaries 54

To Be Published Soon

SELECTED READINGS FROM
THE WORKS OF
MAO TSE-TUNG

A selection of 39 articles from Comrade
Mao Tse-tung's works written in the different
periods of the Chinese revolution.

408 pages 22.2 × 15.2 cm. Paperback

Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, Peking, China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDIAN (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China